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A Companion to the Greek Orthodox Church. Edited by Fotios K. Lit-sas. New York: Department of Communication of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984. Pp. 324. Paperbound, \$10.00.

A Companion is a kind of one volume encyclopaedia of the Greek Orthodox Church and should prove quite useful for quick reference for those interested in the history, doctrine, and worship of the Orthodox Church. In addition to some nineteen studies, many of them written by known specialists, the volume contains a number of useful appendices: "A Dictionary of Orthodox Terminology," "Administration and Jurisdictions" [of the Orthodox Churches], "Important Dates

of Orthodox Church History," "Milestones in the History of Orthodoxy in America," "Forms of Address for Orthodox Clergy," and a "List of Ecumenical Patriarchs."

Dr. Fotios K. Litsas, who edited the volume and provided the Prolegomena in addition to the "Dictionary," is to be commended for a job well done.

The main entries in this volume are as follows:

"Introduction to the Orthodox Church" by Leonidas Contos; "History of the Orthodox Church" by Aristides Papadakis; "The Sacramental Life of the Orthodox Church" by Alkiviadis C. Calivas; "Tradition in the Orthodox Church" by George S. Bebis; "Orthodox Worship" by Alkiviadis C. Calivas; "The Calendar of the Orthodox Church" by Lewis Patsavos; "The Saints of the Orthodox Church" by George Bebis; "Orthodox Art and Architecture" by John Yiannias; "Orthodox Byzantine Music" by Dimitri Conomos; "Orthodox Hymnography" by Eva Catfygiotu-Topping; "The Orthodox Content in Slavic Literature" by Andrew J. Sopko; "Monasticism in the Orthodox Church" by Bishop Maximos Aghiorgoussis; "The Canonical Tradition of the Orthodox Church" by Lewis Patsavos; "The Dogmatic Tradition of the Orthodox Church" by Bishop Maximos Aghiorgoussis; "Exorcism in the Orthodox Church" by George Papademetriou; "Orthodoxy in the United States" by Thomas FitzGerald; "The Historical Development of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America" by George Papaioannou; "The Inter-Church Relations of the Orthodox Church" by Robert Stephanopoulos; and "The Stand of the Orthodox Church on Controversial Issues."

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reveal to us how fragile is our existence and how close the possibility of catastrophe. We are becoming more and more aware of the tragic state of the world and especially of our own country [Russia is obviously meant here]. Only in the Church do we find the source of that goodness and light which can never be conquered by the forces of evil and darkness.

Such is the underlying perspective of this testament and memoir. It is to be read in thoughtful little bits and pieces, for it ranges from the profound and thoughtful, to the instructive, to the remembrance of little details (the minutiae of his first modest flat in Paris is described with loving words), to the devotion-filled expression of the man for his wife and faithful companion: "In my life I have received many gifts from God, but the most precious of them all is my meeting with Militza . . . Militza has become not only my doctor and nurse but also my unique friend, partner in my most intimate thoughts and aspirations."

Through the reading of this volume, we, too, in some small measure, enter into those intimate thoughts, aspirations, experiences, and reflections. Truly a very worthwhile book.

Stanley S. Harakas

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

A Dictionary of Greek Orthodoxy: "Lexikon Hellenikes Orthodoxias." By Nikon D. Patrinos. Foreword by Archbishop Iakovos. New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America (Department of Education), 1984. Pp. 392.

At long last, a reliable, competent, and authoritative work for ready reference on the Greek Orthodox Church has been published. We are indebted to Fr. Nikon D. Patrinos, a retired priest of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, a Ph.D. from Oxford University, former professor and dean of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, former editor of the monthly *Orthodox Observer* and former director of the Archdiocesan Department of Studies for this valuable contribution.

The volume is directed to Greek Orthodox people primarily, who find questions arising about their life as Orthodox Christians as they go through the various stages of life. It is conceived as a home reference book which will be referred to frequently throughout the years to resolve issues and questions. Thus, Patrinos notes: "It is hoped that there are few personal, religious, and moral questions, for which no explanation, together with an answer on the basis of the faith and practice of

Greek Orthodoxy, can be found in this book.” Nevertheless, libraries, journalists, writers, religious leaders, and anyone looking for a tool to learn the Orthodox perspective or gain specific information about the Orthodox church will find this volume indispensable.

The Greek subtitle should not misdirect the reader into believing that we are dealing with a fully bilingual text. The Greek appears only in two specific instances: as a translation of the English entry names, and as a translation for each listing in the Index. The rest of the text is in English. The style of English is clear, direct, objective, and instructive. I believe that anyone with a high school education can read the text without any difficulty. The entries vary in length from five to a page, to several pages in length, according to the importance of the subject. The entry on the Ecumenical Patriarchate is the longest, occupying over eleven pages. The tenor and theological focus of the answers is “mainline” Orthodox Christianity, avoiding both the legendary elements and the scholasticisms. Given its practical orientation and purpose, the coverage is well focused. Throughout the articles, little previous knowledge is assumed, and when terms are introduced, often explanations are made or the reader is referred to another entry. I was able to count 523 distinct entries. It is more than a dictionary; rather, it is best characterized, as Patrinos himself does, as an encyclopedic dictionary. There is little to complain about in this book. I thought the twelve-page Appendix could have been more profitably included in the main dictionary. The one major typographical error I noted was on p. 197 where the English entry for “Holy Week” was missing. Nevertheless, these are hardly of any importance. In all, those who consult this dictionary will find in it a wealth of reliable and well-presented information about the Greek Orthodox Church.

This volume is both handsome and sturdy. It is large in size—seven by ten inches. The paper is of very good quality, the print very readable, and the entries on each page, printed in red, are located in generously wide margins for ready reference. The book is adorned with excellent line drawings executed by E. G. Zournatsis. It is not only very well bound in hardcover, but even that is protected by a thick transparent plastic cover formed over the book. Clearly, it has been designed to be used frequently.

It is well worth its cost, for it will provide the owner with many years of solid and reliable answers to his or her questions about the Greek Orthodox Church.

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A Modern Orthodox Response to the Ontological Argument

DEAN GEURAS

THE ONTOLOGICAL ARGUMENT of Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) is recognized almost universally as one of the greatest masterpieces of the human intellect.¹ Despite questions concerning the validity of the argument, its stature in the history of philosophy is comparable to that of *Hamlet* in literature and the Parthenon in architecture. However, the argument, as brilliant as it may be, is theologically useless unless it tells us something about God. Unfortunately, I will maintain, Anselm's argument serves as a *reductio ad abstractum* of the concept of God as it is understood by traditional Western Catholic theology; however, I will also maintain that Orthodox theology avoids this reductio by understanding God as a being rather than as a concept.

Western Catholic theology has, under the influence of Aristotelian thought, attempted to understand all reality as a logical consequence of God's essence. This attempt is made evident not only in the works of Western scholars such as Anselm and Thomas Aquinas,² but also in the Western position concerning the *filioque*.³ In Western theology, as in Aristotle's system, every property of a being either belongs to its essence or occurs only as an accident. Accidents, however, could have no logical explanation, so that if reality is totally intelligible, as classical and Western Christian philosophy would expect, all must be explained through God's essence. In God, therefore, nothing is accidental; all of his properties are essential to him and all of creation is a consequence of his essence. Many problems regarding evil and free will were generated from this view of God's essence, but I will not discuss them within the limits of this paper.

¹St. Anselm, "Proslogium," in *St. Anselm: Basic Writings*, trans. S. N. Deane, 2nd ed. (La Salle, Illinois, 1966), pp. 7-10.

²St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York, 1947), 1, p. 35.

³John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York, 1979), p. 94.

Anselm attempts to infer God's existence, or more properly his necessary existence, from God's essence. According to Anselm, God is by definition "a being than which a greater cannot be conceived."⁴ God is therefore the unity of all perfections, including omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence, omnibenevolence, etc. To think of a greater idea than that of God would be as logically absurd as to think of a positive integer smaller than zero. Included among the attributes of the greatest of all possible concepts is necessary existence.

To say that something necessarily exists is to say that its non-existence entails a self-contradiction; on the other hand, to say that something is contingent is to say that its non-existence does not imply a logical contradiction. Contingent entities are so common that one need not seek very hard for examples: Books, mountains, galaxies, and people, together with all natural creations are capable of destruction. Even the annihilation of matter could, unlike a square circle, be imagined. The non-existence of a necessary entity, however, is a logical absurdity. Since according to Anselm only God is necessary, no comparative examples are available.

God must be endowed with necessary existence, because if he were contingent, something greater, i.e. a necessary entity, could be conceived. Therefore, it follows from God's nature that he cannot be thought of as non-existent, fictitious, or finite.

A person might be misled into supposing that he, himself, is necessary. In accordance with Descartes' *cogito* argument, it is impossible for me to doubt my own existence, because my very act of doubting implies my existence as doubter. However, it does not follow that I am necessary because while I cannot doubt that I exist at the moment of my contemplating my existence, I can still consider the possibility that I might cease to exist in the future or that I might not have existed at some time in the past. Necessarily existent entities are such that their non-existence at any time is a logical impossibility.

The atheist is therefore left in an untenable situation. If he denies that God exists, he denies the existence of a necessary entity; to this denial, Anselm responds that the atheist either misunderstands the word, "God," or commits a manifest contradiction.⁵ One cannot deny the existence of something whose non-existence is by definition self-contradictory. Agnosticism fares no better; just as the statement, "It is possible that circles are square," is little improvement over the statement, "Circles are square," it is as absurd to assert the possibility that a logical contradiction exists as to assert its actuality.

⁴St. Anselm, p. 7.

⁵Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Anselm leaves us with the conclusion that if God is even conceivable, he must exist. Only by denying the meaningfulness of the word, "God," and thus of the entire statement, "God exists," can one deny the truth of the statement. The atheist, who says, "God does not exist," and the agnostic, who says, "God might not exist," refute themselves by their use of the word "God" in their own utterances. One must, it seems, either assert the necessary existence of God or refuse to talk about God at all.

Criticisms of Anselm are legion. They come not only from atheists and agnostics but also from theists, including Anselm's contemporary Gaunilon, Thomas Aquinas, and Immanuel Kant. Many of the criticisms are directed at the rationalistic aspects of the argument. It does not rely upon experience and is therefore offensive to empiricists. However, as Charles Hartshorne demonstrates forcefully in his brilliant book, *Anselm's Discovery*, most replies to Anselm are based upon misunderstanding.⁶ For example, it is often falsely supposed that, using Anselm's argument, we cannot deny the existence of anything of which we are thinking at the time of our denial. This misunderstanding results from a failure to appreciate the concept of necessary existence and its unique applicability to God. I will consider only a few of the responses to Anselm and will disregard those that are especially weak or have little instructive value.

Gaunilon, in a well-known objection, maintains that if Anselm's argument is valid, one could just as easily prove the existence of a perfect island.⁷ According to Gaunilon one need only conceive of the imaginary perfect island as necessarily existing to prove the existence of the island as surely as Anselm has proved the existence of God. Perhaps with some sarcasm, Anselm responded by promising to find the perfect island if Gaunilon's argument were truly identical in all important respects to Anselm's.⁸

Gaunilon evidently overlooked an important difference between the perfect island and the perfect being. An island is limited by its very nature. Islands are material and therefore can cease to exist if their physical components are separated, decomposed, or in any other way destroyed. A necessarily existent island is as conceptually impossible as liquid ice. Anselm's God is not limited; he is not like a perfect island, perfect person, or perfect square, because he is the perfect being. Anselm maintains that no argument concerning any entity other than God is analogous to his because God is uniquely the greatest of all

⁶Charles Hartshorne, *Anselm's Discovery* (La Salle, Illinois, 1965), p. 15.

⁷Gaunilon, "In Behalf of the Fool," in *St. Anselm: Basic Writings*, pp. 150-51.

⁸St. Anselm, p. 158.

possible beings and therefore must be necessary; all other entities are contingent.

A more complex objection is commonly attributed to Immanuel Kant, though it may have originated with David Hume.⁹ Existence, Kant argues, is not a predicate and therefore cannot be ascribed to a concept;¹⁰ in alternative terminology, existence is not a property. To describe a pencil as red, blue, eight inches long, or cold is to say something about the pencil. A red or blue pencil, for example, is distinguishable from a green pencil; likewise, an eight-inch long pencil is distinguishable from a ten-inch long one. However, an eight-inch long, blue real pencil is qualitatively identical to an eight-inch long, blue imaginary pencil. The existence of the pencil does not give it any descriptive feature that it would have lacked if it had been only imaginary. If *Hamlet* were not a play but a factual account, exact in every detail, our understanding of Hamlet's personality and character would not be altered in the least. To say that something exists is not to describe it but only to say of certain descriptive features that there is something that answers to them.

Nevertheless, as admirable as Kant's criticism may be, it, too, overlooks an important point: Anselm ascribed necessary existence rather than existence *simpliciter* to God. It makes no difference whether I think of my blue, eight-inch pencil as existing or not, but it makes a great deal of difference when I try to imagine my pencil as necessary. In the latter case, I endow my pencil with characteristics that are inconsistent with the concept of a pencil. Like the island, the pencil is material, so to consider it as necessarily existent contradicts its nature. Existence is not a property, but necessary existence is. To say that something necessarily exists implies that it is incorporeal, eternal, and indestructible. To say such things is surely to describe.

One of Thomas Aquinas' criticisms of Anselm is especially curious. Thomas distinguishes between the self-evidence of a thing to a human being and the self-evidence of the thing in itself.¹¹ For example, the validity of the Pythagorean theorem had always been self-evident in itself; the Pythagoreans did not invent or create the relationship between the hypotenuse and the legs of a triangle but merely discovered the relationship. While the theorem was always logically self-evident, its self-evidence was manifest to the human mind only after the theorem

⁹David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford, 1967), pp. 66-67.

¹⁰Immanuel Kant, *A Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (New York, 1965), p. 505.

¹¹St. Thomas Aquinas, 1, p. 11.

was proved by a human being. Goldbach's conjecture may be an example of something that is self-evident in itself but not yet self-evident to us.

Thomas admits that if God is the greatest of all possible concepts, God must be self-evident in himself, but he is not, according to Thomas, self-evident to us mortals with our limited minds.¹² However, if Thomas cannot know of God's self-evident existence, how can he assert it? On the other hand, Thomas' admission that God's existence is self-evident in itself allows the only premise that Anselm needs to ensure his conclusion. Thomas is in the awkward position of someone who says, "This is true, but I do not know it."

One might be more charitable to Thomas. Perhaps Thomas does not deny that we can know that God necessarily exists, but instead only denies that the relationship between God's essence and his existence can be understood rationally. Thus, we can know, for example, that Goldbach's conjecture must be true, though we cannot figure out what facts about our number system require that every even number be expressible as the sum of two primes. If, as Thomas states in the *Summa Theologica*, we can know God's essence only through divine grace, we may know through grace but not through reason that God is necessary.¹³

Nevertheless, even under this more charitable interpretation of Thomas, his reply is inadequate. If the concept of God is the greatest possible concept, it seems to follow *rationally* that God is necessary; if God is only contingent, something greater than he could be conceived. Whether any other truths about God's essence are knowable by reason is immaterial to Anselm. Anselm's reply need only be a repetition of his argument to demonstrate its foundation in reason rather than faith. There appear to be only two possibilities: Either God exists necessarily or he exists contingently. Since contingency is contradictory to the concept of an ultimate Being, only necessary existence can belong to God.

Among the multitude of responses to Anselm, one appears to be most effective. Hartshorne, who supports Anselm's argument, concedes that a criticism by J. N. Findlay has merit. Findlay attempts to convert Anselm's argument into a logical proof of God's non-existence. According to Findlay, Anselm was correct to ascribe necessary existence to the concept of God, because if God were contingent he would not be worthy of unqualified worship. However, as Hume had pointed out in *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, logical deductions

¹²Ibid., 1, pp. 11-12.

¹³Ibid., 1, pp. 52-53.

that establish necessary truths can only be concerned with abstract ideas rather than actual things.¹⁴ Findlay thus leaves us with two troublesome possibilities: Either God is contingent or he is merely an idea.

Those who believe in necessary truths which aren't merely tautological think that such truths merely connect the possible instances of various characteristics with each other: they don't expect such truths to tell them whether there will be instances of any characteristics . . . And, on a yet more modern view of the matter, necessity in propositions merely reflects our use of words, the arbitrary conventions of our language. On such a view the Divine Existence could only be a necessary matter if we had made up our minds to speak theistically whatever the empirical circumstances might turn out to be.¹⁵

Findlay leaves the theist in a dilemma. If God is a truly supreme and ultimate being, he must exist necessarily rather than merely contingently. However, necessary existence can belong only to conceptual or linguistic entities. Therefore, according to Findlay, God can exist only *in mente* but not *in re*.

Findlay might be surprised to find that he is in virtual agreement with Orthodoxy concerning the Western concept of God. Orthodoxy has always maintained that little could be gained by proofs for God's existence, whether they be rationalistic or empirical.¹⁶ Furthermore, Orthodox theology has consistently regarded the West as committing itself to an overly abstract and philosophical concept of God that satisfies the intellect more than the spirit. The Orthodox theologian can readily accept Findlay's criticism as a corrective against Western misconception. Anselm attempted to understand God's essence and thus reduced God to the merely human conception pertaining to his essence; one could expect such a conception to be faulty and problematical.

Orthodox theologians are in strong opposition to Anselm's attempt to describe God's essential nature. Among others, Gregory of Nyssa,¹⁷

¹⁴David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, in *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals* by David Hume, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1957), p. 25.

¹⁵J. N. Findlay, *Language, Mind and Value* (London, 1963), p. 102.

¹⁶John Meyendorff, "Orthodox Theology Today" in *Living Tradition* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1978), p. 183.

¹⁷Gregory of Nyssa, *Against Eunomios*, ed. W. Jager (Berlin, 1922), Vol. 2, pp. 45c, 192c as quoted in *The Nature of Human Knowledge According to Saint Gregory of Nyssa*, by Alcuin A. Weiswurm (Washington, D.C., 1952), p. 155.

Gregory the Theologian,¹⁸ Dionysios the Areopagite,¹⁹ John of Damascus,²⁰ and Gregory Palamas²¹ have all unambiguously claimed that the divine essence is incomprehensible to the human intellect. Anselm's argument begins by supposing that the essential concept of God is both describable and understandable; one must know the essence of God in order to follow the argument.

Dionysios provides an early and clear example of the Orthodox denial of this essential knowledge. According to Dionysios, the ascription of any linguistic terms to God in their literal senses is inappropriate.²² When one describes God, Dionysios maintains, one must speak metaphorically or analogically, but not literally. Occasionally, Dionysios demonstrates his belief in the inadequacy of literal language for theological discourse by intentionally applying contradictory attributes to God.²³ Moreover, he maintains that God is beyond the human concept of essence, itself.²⁴ In *The Orthodox Faith*, John of Damascus, probably borrowing from Dionysios, employs the same apophatic approach.²⁵ The apophatic theology has become so prevalent to Orthodox theologians that Vladimir Lossky regarded it as a central feature of Orthodox thought.²⁶

One might argue, on the basis of some *prima facie* similarities between Thomas Aquinas and John of Damascus, that the difference between Orthodoxy and Western Catholic theology in general is not so great as the difference between Orthodoxy and Anselm. Both Thomas and John present similar cosmological and teleological evidence for God's existence, but each maintains that, despite his arguments, understanding of the essential nature of God is unattainable. Because these theologians are such important representatives of their traditions, similarities between them must not be disregarded.

However, one must understand each theologian by means of the suppositions of his own tradition. Thomas maintains that the

¹⁸Gregory Nazianzos, *Discours 27-31 (Discours Theologiques)*, trans. Paul Gallay (Paris, 1978), pp. 134, 135.

¹⁹Dionysios the Areopagite, *The Divine Names and The Mystical Theology*, trans. C. E. Rolt (London, 1979), pp. 51-52.

²⁰*Saint John of Damascus*, in *Writings of the Fathers of The Church*, Vol. 37, trans. Frederick H. Chase, Jr. (New York, 1958), pp. 165, 170ff.

²¹Gregory Palamas, *Defense des Saints Hesychastes*, trans. Jean Meyendorff (Louvain, 1959), 1, p. 125

²²Dionysios, pp. 53, 59.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 69, 70.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁵John of Damascus, pp. 170ff, 194-96.

²⁶Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1957), pp. 25f, 34f.

intelligibility and order of the universe provide not only evidence for God's existence but also minimal knowledge of God's essence, because, for Thomas, creation metaphysically follows from God's essence. Although for Thomas our faculties are inadequate to fully comprehend the essence of God, empirical study of the world enables us to draw inferences concerning God's essence. The relation between Aristotle's unmoved mover and the empirical world provided the model for Thomas' understanding of the relation between God and the created universe. In both relations creation and intelligibility of the world follow from and express the essence of the ultimate being.

Orthodoxy distinguishes God's essence from his energies. This distinction, often associated with Gregory Palamas,²⁷ is repeatedly acknowledged throughout the history of Orthodox thought,²⁸ and was recognized by the Synods of Constantinople in 1341 and 1351.²⁹ John of Damascus makes, in effect, the same distinction between God's nature, which we cannot know, and his creative activities, which we can know.³⁰ For John, therefore, as for Orthodoxy in general, the order and structure of the universe display the energies of God rather than his essence, whereas for Thomas, nature expresses the divine essence, albeit only dimly to human minds.

Gregory Palamas later used the essence-energies distinction to defend the Hesychasts against Barlaam.³¹ Gregory argued that the Hesychasts' visions of God were consistent with God's absolutely transcendent nature because the Hesychasts experienced God's energies rather than his essence.

Interestingly, because of the distinction between energy and essence, Orthodoxy finds itself in greater agreement with twentieth-century philosophical trends in the West than does Western Catholic Christianity. Contemporary philosophers in the linguistic tradition of the anglophone have abandoned the study of essence almost entirely; their position regarding essence in general, as expressed by Ludwig Wittgenstein³² and J. L. Austin,³³ is similar to Dionysios' position regarding description of the divine essence. Among the continental

²⁷ Georges Florovsky, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View*, Vol. 1 (Belmont, Mass., 1972), p. 117.

²⁸ Lossky, pp. 67-90 *passim*.

²⁹ Florovsky, p. 117.

³⁰ John of Damascus, p. 172.

³¹ Gregory Palamas, p. 657-59.

³² Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe (New York, 1958), pp. 6-7.

³³ J. L. Austin, "The Meaning of a Word" in *Philosophical Papers*, ed. J. O. Urmson and B. J. Warnock (London, 1970), p. 62ff.

existentialists, the concept of essence is considered misleading and unduly limiting when ascribed to free, animate beings.³⁴ Much of the seemingly anti-theological tone of contemporary philosophy is thus not so much opposed to theology *per se* as much as toward theology as interpreted in the Western tradition. It is therefore not altogether surprising that Findlay, a Western philosopher, should criticize a Western Catholic theologian in a manner reminiscent of Orthodox theology.

However, one of Findlay's criticisms must yet be answered. Even if God's essence is unknowable, the question remains: is God necessary or is he contingent? It is not enough to maintain ignorance, because either answer is troublesome. To accept God as necessary is to accept Anselm's conception of God, but to assert God's contingency is to severely limit him. One would not wish to say, "God is necessary, but I cannot know that he is."

In addition, one must bear in mind that although it has been the Orthodox position that God's essence is beyond human understanding, it has not been the Orthodox position that nothing can be asserted about God's essence. We can know, through historical revelation perceived by faith, that God is Triune, and that he is also One. To know certain matters concerning God's essence is not to know God's essence itself, just as to know a number of facts about infinity (e.g., that it has no limits, that one infinity can be greater than another, etc.) is surely not to know the essence of infinity. Is it not then reasonable to ask the question, "Is God necessary or contingent?"

I answer that the question is not reasonable. Not only has Anselm misrepresented God, but both Anselm and Findlay have misunderstood the concepts of necessity and contingency. "Necessary" and "contingent" are linguistic concepts and can be neither asserted nor denied of real objects. To ask if God is necessary or contingent is as incoherent as to ask whether Mozart was declarative or interrogative.

The concepts of necessity and contingency, as Anselm and Findlay use them, originate in the study of logic. A statement is necessary if its denial is self-contradictory, while a statement whose denial is not self-contradictory is contingent. Clearly, only statements can be necessary or contingent; individual entities alone neither contradict nor assert anything. To describe an individual entity as necessary or contingent is as inappropriate as to describe the entity as logically valid or invalid.

However, it is possible to assert the contingency of the statement, "God exists," without limiting God at all. One must distinguish between the concept that a word signifies and the entity to which the word refers. A well-known example that expresses this distinction concerns

³⁴H. J. Blackman, *Six Existential Thinkers* (New York, 1959), p. 162.

the phrase, "morning star." The phrase signifies the last planet that is visible to the naked eye after dawn. One might be fully aware of the meaning of the phrase without knowing which planet happens to be the morning star on any particular day. Conversely, a resident of Venus might know the planet itself quite well without understanding the phrase, "morning star," much less know when Venus is given that designation by earthlings. The significance of a word or phrase is its meaning; the referent is an object that the word is used to designate. It is clear that significance and referent are different because some words, e.g. "Cyclops," have meaning but no referent. Other words, e.g. "horse," have one meaning, but many referents. Some names, such

existence. When rational methods are used to prove God, God becomes the consequence of a human system of logic—a necessary inference from rational presuppositions. God thus becomes a creature of reason and not an independent being: God must exist because reason requires him to exist. However, reason can only concern itself with general principles rather than real entities. Anselm's reduction of God to a mere generality follows inescapably from his rationalistic methodology.

The weakness of Anselm's position and vulnerability to Findlay's attacks are avoided in Orthodox theology at least partially because of the distinction between energy and essence. To the Western Catholic theologian, whose tradition does not emphasize that distinction, knowledge of God inescapably entails knowledge of God's essence. However, to conceive of an essence is, at least for a human being, precisely to conceive of a set of abstract qualities. The Orthodox theologian, on the other hand, recognizes that God's energies, as revealed through his activities in history, can be known independently of his essence, which remains beyond human conception. The Orthodox theologian is, therefore, not so inclined to reduce God to abstract properties.

The difference between Orthodoxy and Western Catholic theology is expressed, though perhaps somewhat exaggerated, in the contrast between Anselm's attempt to analyze the essence of God as a collection of logically describable qualities and the Hesychasts' mystical vision of God. Anselm seeks to attain *dianoia*, the rational, conceptual understanding that would ultimately reduce all reality to intelligibility; the Hesychasts sought *theognosia*, a personal experience beyond intelligibility. The Hesychasts' position, which was once thought to be anti-philosophical, now appears to be the more philosophically sound, especially with respect to the forementioned contemporary traditions in philosophy.

While rejecting rational understanding of God's essence, Orthodoxy has emphasized the attempt to attain *theosis*, which Florovsky interprets as "a personal encounter . . . that intimate intercourse of man with God."³⁵ It is possible personally to encounter a being, but not a conceptual entity such as an essence.

Orthodoxy is not so liable to commit Anselm's error because Orthodoxy emphasized God as Being. The more that a theology stresses the essence of God, the more it interprets God as a concept or idea. On the other hand, when God is understood as Being, not so much to be comprehended as to be experienced and not so much to be known about as to be known, his reality as a being renders mere conceptualization inconsequential and insignificant.

³⁵Florovsky, p. 115.

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A Report on Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry

THE ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY IN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

At a meeting in the fall of 1983 the members of the Orthodox Theological Society in America gathered to discuss *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry* (BEM), Paper No. 111 of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches and to prepare an official response to it as has been requested by the Secretariat of Faith and Order. From the outset we understood that our audience would be not only Faith and Order, but also interested hierarchy, theologians and lay people, both Orthodox and non-Orthodox. We have written this report accordingly, keeping all these in mind. This is not an exhaustive report. By that we mean that we have not critiqued the Lima statement line by line. We have, however, given it serious consideration and offer what follows as our understanding of the implications of BEM for Orthodoxy and especially Orthodoxy in America. Our comments concerning the Lima text will fall into three general categories: 1) those sections in which we recognize the unbroken tradition of the Church; 2) those sections which we find to be somewhat deficient as a true witness to the apostolic tradition; and 3) those sections which we find particularly helpful in addressing or correcting practices in our Church which, for whatever reason, have departed from the tradition.

We would like to begin by expressing our appreciation for the BEM documents. Particularly because of the extent to which they reflect classic Christian theology and worship. Orthodox Christians must, of course, continue to insist that the Church of Christ, in its fullness, is not merely a spiritual reality reflected in a host of Christian communities with differing confessions and liturgical practices. Rather, she is a concrete historical reality that we understand to be the Holy Orthodox Church. It follows that the sacraments (mysteries) treated with such reverent understanding in BEM can only be fully realized with the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. Withal, the careful expository method characteristic of BEM, the centrality of its subject matter and

the document's sensitive multilateral nature are all praiseworthy, BEM challenges Orthodox theologians and informed laity to reexamine and clarify our Church's traditional teachings on Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry. The Orthodox Theological Society in America recognizes, with the authors of BEM, the need to reaffirm Baptism and Chrismation as renewal of life and the Eucharist as the continuing nurturing of that life. BEM rightly calls us to restudy the nature and implications of the apostolic succession, the tripartite ministry and the ministry of the laity, particularly women. BEM reminds us that constant attention to these questions is our vital responsibility. Orthodox Christians must ever consider anew the shifting relationships between theory and practice.

Obviously, however, no statement aimed at such a divergence of disparate traditions can wholly escape difficulties. Often cast in terminology that suggests western Christian problematics (e.g., the language of "signs," the "real presence," a disproportionate emphasis on the elements when discussing the Eucharist), BEM also tends to leave open or vague questions of overriding importance, for example, the indispensable unity of Baptism and Chrismation, or the ministry of Peter and the issue of primacy. BEM's flexibility on issues and terminology, usually intentional, invite idiosyncratic or overly comprehensive interpretations. However, we must emphasize that it is not enough simply to use the same words if we continue to understand them differently. Words are extremely important because they are the means by which we communicate the same reality. Words have an integrity to them. It is in this sense that we are apprehensive of some phrases, terms, words in the BEM documents, even those that we see as having come from Orthodox theology. We want to be assured that the verbal agreement which is reached will also be demonstrated in the actual vision and practice of the member churches of the WCC. Therefore we must state in the strongest way possible, if BEM is to have any integrity we Christians who truly desire unity must strive not only to say the same thing, but to mean the same thing.

While we understand that BEM is not intended as a creedal statement, it certainly may be construed as a series of doctrinal affirmations, though not officially those of any particular Church. While these broadly consensual affirmations represent a viable basis for Faith and Order's effort to bring about a theological convergence among the Churches, such an effort must further grapple with precisely those questions left open in BEM. Until then, Orthodox Christians should be especially wary of attributing to a most sympathetic document an authority denied it by its avoidance of and ambiguity on certain crucial issues.

We would also like to express our appreciation to Faith and Order

for its focus on the value of the BEM reception process. The manner in which it is received by member churches of the World Council and by the Roman Catholic Church will measure the seriousness of their commitment to what the Orthodox view as central elements of the worship and structure of the Church.

BEM also places upon Orthodox Christians the duty to respond to it collegially and with some degree of specificity. We have attempted in what follows to address the specific questions asked by the Faith and Order Secretariat in the Preface to the BEM documents. We have given special attention to those aspects of the documents in which we recognize the text as an expression of the apostolic faith, and in which we see consequences for our holy Orthodox Church.

BAPTISM

We find that the statement on baptism is in many ways consistent with the apostolic tradition and the beliefs of the Orthodox Church. For example, the statement defines baptism as "the new life through Jesus Christ [that] unites the one baptized with Christ and with his people" (Section 2, paragraph 2). In fact, the entire paragraph reflects an understanding of baptism as the regeneration of humanity into a "new humanity in which barriers of division . . . are transcended." When baptism is seen in this way, there is no longer any room, so we believe, for a theology of "inherited guilt" in which baptism becomes the "washing away of the stain of original sin." We are encouraged that this statement has refrained from expressing this narrow, and essentially mistaken conception of baptism.

The statement also interprets baptism as the way the believer participates "in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ" (Section 2, A, paragraph 3). It also tells us that "Jesus . . . was baptized in solidarity with sinners in order to fulfil all righteousness." In this creative use of modern imagery we see reflected the ancient truth that while Jesus Christ became man and took on our sin, he nevertheless did not participate in that sin. He is totally and positively with sinners, yet not one of them in their sin.

The remainder of Section 2 speaks of the effects of baptism on the believer. "The baptism which makes Christians partakers of the mystery of Christ's death and resurrection implies confession of sin and conversion of heart . . . Thus those baptized are pardoned, cleansed and sanctified by Christ, and are given as part of their baptismal experience a new ethical orientation under the guidance of the Holy Spirit" (paragraph 4). The approach taken here is definitely deep and holistic. Baptism leads to an ethical life, and an ethical life leads to daily askesis (spiritual exercise) and growth in the life of Christ. Of course, the life

in Christ is a gift of the Holy Spirit (paragraph 5). "God bestows upon all baptized persons the anointing and promise of the Holy Spirit, marks them with a seal and implants in their hearts the first installment of their inheritance. . . . The Holy Spirit nurtures the life of faith in their hearts until the final deliverance when they will enter into its full possession, to the praise and the glory of God." Baptism is, as stated in paragraph 7, the "sign of the Kingdom of God and of the life of the world to come."

We are encouraged to see in paragraph 14 that baptism is "inseparably linked" with the gift of the Spirit. "In God's work of salvation, the paschal mystery of Christ's death and resurrection is inseparably linked with the pentecostal gift of the Holy Spirit. Similarly, participation in Christ's death and resurrection is inseparably linked with the receiving of the Spirit." The paragraph continues with an honest overview of the differing conceptions Christians have concerning "where the sign of the gift of the Spirit is to be found." However, we find the document's acceptance of the varying interpretations of of the relationship between baptism and chrismation/confirmation lacking. The apostolic scriptures themselves give us evidence of two distinct yet inseparably united acts of baptism and reception of the Holy Spirit (i.e. chrismation/confirmation). We would appreciate a clear affirmation of the unity and diversity of baptism and chrismation, not only in theological meaning but also in actual practice.

There are several places where we have serious concerns over language and phrasing which are oftentimes imprecise or inadequate, not fully conveying and revealing certain aspects of the reality of the baptism in Christ. Some differences in language are more than likely reflective of differing theological conceptions. Others may be attempts at a vague convergence over the issue at hand. We will refer specifically to those areas where we see serious problems. However, we would first like to call attention to a sentence in paragraph 1 that refers to baptism "as a rite of commitment to the Lord who bestows his grace upon his people." While baptism is certainly a "commitment," it is also far more than that. Baptism has an intrinsically sacramental character that, while testified to throughout, we do not see as the underlying operating principle of the statement. Baptism is first and foremost the saving action of God who through water and the Spirit recreates his creation. Ours is a response to God's call through faith.

But our most serious concerns are reserved for the ecclesiological implications of a mutual recognition of baptism. In paragraph 6 (Section 2, D) entitled "Incorporation into the Body of Christ," the text states:

When baptismal unity is realized in one, holy, catholic, apostolic Church, a genuine Christian witness can be made to the healing and reconciling love of God. Therefore, our one baptism in to Christ constitutes a call to the churches to overcome their divisions and visibly manifest their fellowship.

Paragraph 15 (Section 4, C) entitled “Toward a Mutual Recognition of Baptism” states:

Churches are increasingly recognizing one another’s baptism as the one baptism into Christ when Jesus Christ has been confessed as Lord by the candidate or, in the case of infant baptism, when confession has been made by the church (parent, guardians, godparents, and congregation) and affirmed later by personal faith and commitment. Mutual recognition of baptism is acknowledged as an important sign and means of expressing the baptismal unity given in Christ.

Likewise, the Commentary to paragraph 13 (Section 4, A) states:

Churches which have insisted on a particular form of baptism or which have had serious questions about the authenticity of other churches’ sacraments and ministries have at times required persons coming from other church traditions to be baptized before being received into full communicant membership. As the churches come to fuller mutual understanding and acceptance of one another and enter into closer relationships in witness and service, they will want to refrain from any practice which might call into question the sacramental integrity of other churches or which might diminish the unrepeatability of the sacrament of baptism.

The implication here is that formally acceptable baptism should be recognized without reference to the fullness and integrity of the church’s faith and order. The underlying ecclesiology is that there are no clear boundaries to the visible Church, or that the boundaries of the one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church are yet to be defined. Further, membership in the Church is to be accorded to anyone who professes to be a member with a formally-accepted baptism. The Orthodox, however, recognize clearly visible boundaries. There are basic norms by and through which persons are brought into and united with the body of Christ. Unfortunately, these norms are not uniformly implemented by the Orthodox adding to the confusion of our understanding. We Orthodox need to clarify for ourselves what it means to recognize the

“validity” of another’s baptism when they approach membership in the Orthodox Church, and what implication this has in regard to other sacraments, e.g., the Eucharist, and the issue of “intercommunion.”

There are also two further points in the document that need to be addressed. In paragraph 11 (Section 2, A) “infant baptism” is contrasted to “believer baptism” implying, by reference, that infants are “non-believers.” While infants are incapable of a mature personal faith, their baptism as God’s gift is achieved by the faith which is in them through their parents, sponsors, and church community. We find the expression “baptism of believers” inadequate, and suggest that it be changed to “baptism of adults.”

In paragraph 20 (Section 5) where the rudimentary elements needed within the order of baptism are outlined, reference is made to a “renunciation of evil.” Although to see “evil” in impersonal terms is common today, this has never been the understanding of the Church throughout the ages. Just as an acceptance of “deity” can be no substitute for our faith in the Holy Trinity, or “the good” in place of the good God, so “evil” cannot replace the “evil-doer.” We come to know, accept, or reject evil not in an abstract but in a personal manner. The person in whom evil is embodied is the Evil One. We would therefore suggest that the text be changed to: “a renunciation of the Evil One,” or simply, Satan or the devil.

The final paragraph (Section 5, paragraph 23) declares that “baptism is intimately connected with the corporate life and worship of the Church [and] should normally be administered during public worship . . .” In our understanding of apostolic tradition, baptism has always been associated with the eucharistic celebration and not merely “public worship.” We suggested that the text be altered accordingly.

Perhaps the place where the statement is most challenging for the Orthodox is in the discussion of infant baptism. While infant baptism as administered by the Orthodox Church is authenticated within the life of the early Church, and while the Orthodox Church has always understood a number of scriptural passages as evidence of this in the apostolic period, we certainly need to examine certain aspects of current practice. For example, paragraph 16 states: “[T]hose who practice infant baptism . . . must guard themselves against the practice of apparently indiscriminate baptism and take more seriously their responsibility for the nurturing of baptized children to mature commitment to Christ.” The criticism is valid. There are many instances when we Orthodox baptize children where there is little or no conscious resolve on the part of the parents or sponsors to raise that child “to a mature commitment to Christ.” In paragraph 12 we see the necessity of baptism “tak[ing] place in the Church as the community of faith.” We

are reminded of the responsibility not only of the newly baptized but also of those of us who already have been baptized and constituted the "community of faith." Baptism "has its setting within the life and faith of the Church and, through the witness of the whole Church, points to the faithfulness of God, the ground of all life in faith. At every baptism the whole congregation reaffirms its faith in God and pledges itself to provide an environment of witness and service." We would observe that in some practices and attitudes we Orthodox have fallen short of providing this "environment of witness and service," and that we must develop a baptismal catechesis in the life of the Church, especially for parents and sponsors, as a basis for effective Christian nurturing of those who are baptized as infants. However, even in acknowledging the difficulties mentioned above, we must emphasize that the burden of proof rests with those who would argue for "believers' baptism." For example, there are no protests in the early Church against the practice. Nowhere in the Scriptures is it forbidden or is there even suggested an appropriate age for baptism. And there are other points as well. Not to baptize infants in the care of committed Christian adults is seen by us as unnatural and in conflict with an Orthodox understanding of the Church. And we see the practice of withholding baptism from children in the care of committed Christians in former times to be due more to the fear of apostasy after baptism than to any sense of the lack of belief, understanding or commitment on the part of the children. When fears of apostasy decreased, the practice of infant baptism actually increased.

EUCCHARIST

The statement on the eucharist also reflects much that is rooted in the apostolic tradition. Most of the theology expressed is consistent with the witness of the ancient Church, even though the language and terminology are not. And it is in this area where the statement on the eucharist presents a great ecumenical challenge: can we come to a point where when using the same words, we mean the same thing, or when using slightly different terms, we are expressing and experiencing the same reality? If this is what is occurring in the statement on the eucharist, then truly we have come far on the road toward unity.

The statement begins by introducing a theology of the eucharist as the celebration of the presence of the kingdom of God which we recognize as thoroughly consonant with the apostolic understanding of the celebration of the eucharist. "The meals which Jesus is recorded as sharing during his earthly ministry proclaim and enact the nearness of the kingdom . . . the eucharist continues these meals of Jesus during his earthly life and after his resurrection, always as a sign of the

kingdom. . . . [The eucharistic] celebration continues as the central act of the Church's worship" (paragraph 1).

The explanation contained in the section entitled *The Eucharist as Thanksgiving to the Father* (Section 2. A.) reflects our understanding of the eucharist as well. For us the eucharist also always "includes both word and sacrament." By its very name we understand it to be "a great thanksgiving to the Father for everything accomplished in creation." We understand the eucharist to be "the great sacrifice of praise by which the Church speaks on behalf of the whole creation." This is what is expressed in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom by the words: "Thine own of thine own, we offer to thee on behalf of all and for all."

The statement tries to resolve the old controversy of the "sacrificial" as opposed to the "memorial" character of the eucharist by introducing the theology of *anamnesis* that does not oppose "sacrifice" and "memorial" and that is a more holistic understanding of the eucharist.

The eucharist is the sacrament of the unique sacrifice of Christ, who ever lives to make intercession for us. It is the memorial of all that God has done for the salvation of the world. What it was God's will to accomplish in the incarnation, life, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ, God does not repeat. These events are unique and can neither be repeated nor prolonged. In the memorial of the eucharist, however, the Church offers its intercession in communion with Christ, our great High Priest" (Section 2, B, paragraph 8).

The accompanying Commentary to paragraph B similarly tries to bind together sacrifice and memorial. Also paragraph 10 points out how "we offer ourselves as a living and holy sacrifice in our daily lives" (Rom 12.1; 1 Pet 2.5); and that this "is nourished in the eucharist." While using terms with which we are frankly uncomfortable, the description seems to be what we have always understood to be the apostolic teaching on the "sacrificial" character of the eucharist.

This also appears to be true in the matter of the "real" presence of Christ in the Eucharist. For example, in paragraph 13:

Christ's mode of presence in the eucharist is unique. Jesus said over the bread and wine of the eucharist: "This is my body . . . this is my blood . . . What Christ declared is true, and this truth is fulfilled every time the eucharist is celebrated. The Church confesses Christ's real, living, and active presence in the eucharist. While Christ's real presence in the eucharist does not depend on the faith of the individual, all agree that to discern the body and blood of Christ, faith is required.

While static in its understanding of the presence of Christ in the eucharist, this is an affirmative statement with which we are able to agree. But there is real concern over the accompanying Commentary to paragraph 13:

Many churches believe that by the words of Jesus and by the power of the Holy Spirit, the bread and wine of the eucharist become, in a real though mysterious manner, the body and blood of the risen Christ, i.e., of the living Christ present in all his fullness. Under the signs of bread and wine, the deepest reality is the total being of Christ who comes to us in order to feed us and transform our entire being. Some other churches, while affirming a real presence of Christ at the eucharist, do not link that presence so definitely with the signs of bread and wine. The decision remains for the churches whether this difference can be accommodated within the convergence formulated in the text itself.

While we are sympathetic to the statement's purpose of bringing Christians into a common understanding of the mystery of the eucharist, and while there is certainly a sense in which common words can lead us to this common understanding, there is also a danger in that approach. Here we clearly see the result of formulating a text that must accommodate differing understandings. "Real" presence is affirmed while there is no shared understanding on *what* that actually means. Perhaps this is because inadequate terminology such as "real presence" and "sign" continues to be used, and is not finally abandoned in favor of terms in keeping with the apostolic tradition.

We find that the document makes a shift in terminology and theology in its discussion of the "epikletic" character of the eucharist. "The Spirit makes the crucified and risen Christ really present to us in the eucharistic meal, fulfilling the promise contained in the words of institution. . . . The bond between the eucharistic celebration and the mystery of the Triune God reveals the role of the Holy Spirit as that of the One who makes the historical words of Jesus present and alive" (paragraph 14). "The whole action of the eucharist has an "epikletic" character because it depends upon the work of the Holy Spirit" (paragraph 16). "It is in virtue of the living word of Christ and by the power of the Holy Spirit that the bread and wine become the sacramental signs of Christ's body and blood" (paragraph 15). "There is an intrinsic relationship between the words of institution, Christ's promise, and the *epiklesis*, the invocation of the Spirit, in the liturgy" (Commentary to paragraph 14). The words of institution, and the *epiklesis* are seen as complementary, reflecting a holistic and dynamic understanding of the "change."

In the Section entitled *The Eucharist as Communion of the Faithful* (Section 2. D.), the celebration of the eucharist and our participation in it takes on its ethical dimension, what we have come to refer to as "the liturgy after the Liturgy." For example, paragraph 19 notes how the celebration of the eucharist fully manifests the community of God's people and that "eucharistic celebrations always have to do with the whole Church." Paragraph 20 reminds us that "the eucharistic celebration demands reconciliation and sharing among all those regarded as brothers and sisters in the one family of God and is a constant challenge in the search for appropriate relationships in social, economic, and political life." We cannot allow ourselves to be unaffected by the eucharist because the eucharist shows us that our behavior is "inconsistent if we are not actively participating in this ongoing restoration of the world's situation and the human condition."

Solidarity in the eucharistic communion of the body of Christ and responsible care of Christians for one another and the world find specific expression in the liturgies . . . As God in Christ entered into the human situation, so eucharistic liturgy is near to the concrete and particular situation of men and women" (paragraph 21).

What we know to be the transfiguring power of Christ, who gives himself to us as heavenly food is here expressed in its fullness. This is how the apostles understood the eucharist. This is how the Church has always become the servant by celebrating the eucharist and partaking of the Body and Blood of the Servant.

In Section 3 we find a very detailed sequence which is perceived to be essential to the normal content and form of the eucharist. This is impressive, especially considering the widely divergent body of theologians who participated in framing the document. Our only comment is that the "signs of reconciliation and peace" ought properly to be located, sequentially, both before and following the *Anaphora*.

What follows serves as a kind of preface to the Ministry document.

In the celebration of the eucharist, Christ gathers, teaches, and nourishes the Church. It is Christ who invites to the meal and who presides at it. . . . The one who presides at the eucharistic celebration in the name of Christ makes clear the rite is not the assemblies' own creation or possession, the eucharist is received as a gift from Christ living in his Church. The minister of the eucharist is the ambassador who represents the divine initiative and expresses the connection of the local community with other communities in the universal Church (paragraph 29).

We will not comment here on the nature of "ministry" except to say that the word "ambassador" has only a shadow of the meaning of the word "icon" or "image," and the understanding of the role of the "one who presides" suffers because of the deficiency in terminology. However, we enthusiastically embrace the idea that "the rite is not the assemblies' own creation or possession; the eucharist is received as a gift from Christ living in his Church" (paragraph 29). We would add that it is a gift also inspired and sustained by the Holy Spirit. The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, celebrated in the Orthodox churches during the Great Lent preceding Easter, expresses this in the prayer before the Entrance with Gifts that begins: "O God of unutterable and unseen Mysteries, with whom are the hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge, who has revealed the service of this liturgy to us." For us the Divine Liturgy is a unique expression of the holy apostolic tradition which is revealed by the Holy Spirit, and for which we are responsible not as its tyrannous possessors, but as its faithful stewards.

The statement on the eucharist also bears several significant challenges for the Orthodox Church in the practical realm, that is to say, pertaining to actual eucharistic practice in the local churches, which, in our opinion, need seriously to be addressed in light of the theological emphases of the Lima document.

First is the danger of passive worship. The role of the priest, as well as the role of the traditional chanter or choir, have so dominated the action in Orthodox worship that the faithful, often cast in the role of silent spectators, are often deprived of full participation in the eucharist as a dynamic sacramental event involving the whole congregation. There are a number of causes for this historical development, among them a kind of practical clericalism emerging from an excessive institutionalization of the ordained ministry. These issues need careful examination. The practical consequences, however, are clear: lateness of arrival for the celebration of the eucharist, infrequent Holy Communion, and a passive attitude in worship which is evidenced in various degrees in local Orthodox congregations. We do not imply that the essential ministry of the priest in the celebration of the eucharist should be diminished. But the liturgical function of the faithful needs full expression as well. The continuous use of the liturgical plural, for example, as well as the dialogical character of the eucharist, clearly presuppose the full participation of the congregation in its celebration. A restoration of the role of the faithful in eucharistic practice can only be achieved through a proper theological emphasis on the offering of the eucharist not by the priest alone, but by the entire congregation.

A second danger is that of formalism. There is in the popular Orthodox piety a tendency toward an externalization of the eucharist and

other mysteries. The richness of liturgical forms, as well as the frequent lack of truly meaningful participation by many of the faithful, have led to the popular perception of the eucharist not as a fervent prayer, but as a cultic act to be viewed from the outside, a kind of impressive ceremonial rite. In this way the primary actor in the celebration of the eucharist is not the risen Lord, as presupposed by the eucharist ("For you, Christ our God, are the Offerer and the Offered," from the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom), but those who are primarily engaged in the liturgical action: the priest, the chanter, the choir, and their skills and dramatic presence. The result is an appreciation of the external beauty of a cultic rite to the detriment of the personal involvement of the faithful transforming the congregation into the fullness of the body of Christ. The danger of formalism in popular piety can be properly addressed through an emphasis on the eucharist as *epiklesis* ("Send down your Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts," *The Anaphora*), not just at the time of the "change," but throughout the celebration of the eucharist. The epikletic nature of the whole eucharist indicates that its celebration is intended as a fervent prayer by the faithful and rooted in the living faith of the congregation.

A third problem in eucharistic practice is the danger of the isolation of Holy Communion. Because of various factors behind popular piety, Holy Communion is viewed by some not in the context of the celebration of the whole eucharist, nor in the context of the believer's whole life in the world, but in the isolation of the reception of the consecrated Gifts at certain times of the year. One result is an individualistic approach to the act of Holy Communion. The infrequent communicant comes to the Cup, viewing it as a private act of piety, rather than that which communion also implies: a relationship to all the members of the body of Christ and his or her full participation in the whole eucharistic event.

Orthodox theologians have stressed that the eucharist is complete not only with the offering and consecration, but also with the reception of the Holy Gifts on a regular basis by the whole congregation. They have also interpreted the eucharist as the table of God's love for the whole world to be closely integrated with the Church's witness in the world—"the liturgy after the Liturgy." Just as believers gather at the eucharist to celebrate the reality of the new creation in Christ, so also they are sent out of the eucharistic gathering by Christ to be his witnesses in the world, proclaiming the Gospel, caring for the sick, feeding the hungry, supporting the weak, and working for peace with justice in the world. In this area, as well, the corporate and social character of the eucharist emphasized in the eucharist document challenges our Church to translate the *orthodoxia* of our eucharistic

ecclesiology into the fullness of the *orthopraxis* of the eucharistic life in Christ.

MINISTRY

As a general observation on the Ministry statement, we would like to say that we recognize many elements which we consider to be true testimony to the New Testament, apostolic tradition, and the witness of the Church throughout the ages. Not only as an ecumenical document, but also as a guide to general ecclesiology, we find this a positive and welcomed step.

In Section 1 we found the concept of the Church as "community" and as the "whole people of God" to be valuable and authentic. In this regard, as a practical manifestation of this principle, we are encouraged that the BEM reception process is to involve the entire Church, the whole people of God. However, the Church is more than just community. It is a community called to holiness and sanctification. The Church is a worshipping community that makes manifest the promised kingdom in this present age, giving us a foretaste of the Age to come.

In Section 2 we see the following phrases and concepts as very sound and necessary to the understanding of ministry in the life of the Church: "the Church needs persons who are publicly and continually responsible . . ."; "[t]he ministry . . . is constitutive for the life and witness of the Church" (paragraph 8); "[a]s heralds and ambassadors, ordained ministers are representatives of Jesus Christ to the community" (paragraph 11); "Ordained ministers can fulfill their calling only in and for the community. They cannot dispense with the recognition, the support and the encouragement of the community" (paragraph 12). In paragraph 7c we have the following definition: "The term *ordained ministry* refers to persons who have received a charism and whom the Church appoints for service by ordination through the invocation of the Spirit and the laying on of hands." We would say that there are charisms of the Holy Spirit such as prophecy, interpretation, healing, teaching, preaching, tongues which are personal and sometimes temporary in character. Ordination is not the same type of gift. Instead, it is a call to an office from within the community by God, confirmed by the whole people of God, both clergy and laity. It is not merely an individual, personal, or temporary gift, but a vocation within the whole body, invested with an abiding character, and given through the Church for the order of the Church.

In paragraph 15 we see this deep and organic understanding of ordination: "Since ordination is essentially a setting apart with prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit, the authority of the ordained ministry is not to be understood as the possession of the ordained person but

as a gift for the continuing edification of the body in and for which the minister has been ordained." In paragraph 16 we find a helpful reminder for all clergy in the Church:

Therefore, ordained ministers must not be autocrats or impersonal functionaries. Although called to exercise wise and loving leadership on the basis of the Word of God, they are bound to the faithful in interdependence and reciprocity. Only when they seek the response and acknowledgment of the community can their authority be protected from the distortions of isolation and domination. They manifest and exercise the authority of Christ in a way Christ himself revealed God's authority to the world, by committing their life to the community. Christ's authority is unique. "He spoke as one who has authority (*exousia*), not as the scribes" (Mt 7.29). This authority is an authority governed by love for the "sheep who have no shepherd" (Mt 9.36). It is confirmed by his life of service and, supremely, by his death and resurrection. Authority in the Church can only be authentic as it seeks to conform to this model.

We know these words to be true because they are confirmed by the whole history of the Church. Those who have lived their lives in this manner and exercised their authority similarly, are remembered as the great saints, the authentic witness to the love of Christ.

The section entitled *The Ministry of Men and Women in the Church* (paragraph 18) presents here, as well as in other contexts, a challenge in our seeking to understand the apostolic tradition. That deaconesses existed in the Church is well documented. And there is certainly a need for further research in this whole area. But the acknowledged existence of deaconesses requires us to wonder why there is no evidence that women were ordained to the priesthood or episcopacy? If women were not excluded from the diaconal ministry, what reasons existed for their "exclusion" from the priesthood and episcopacy? We presume that the basis must be more theological and scriptural rather than sociological or cultural. There must be an honest effort from all the Christian traditions to explore the reasons why the ordination of women to the priesthood has never been known in the apostolic tradition. We see this as an issue which cannot be side-stepped and an ecumenical consensus cannot be reached without a resolution to this problem.

In Section 3 we find much that bears witness to the practice of the early church and is faithful to the universal tradition; for example, the historical analysis of the three-fold ministry of bishop, presbyter, deacon found in paragraphs 21 and 22, and the ordering of the Church found in paragraphs 26 and 27. In paragraph 24 we find a valid criticism of

Orthodox practice and the need to examine the role of the diaconate in our Churches. However, we feel it necessary to add a dimension to this Section which we do not find adequately expressed.

The ordained minister, the priest (or bishop) in the broadest sense of that title, is an icon of Jesus Christ. He is not merely a "representative" but actually "makes present" Christ in the community. We have found that even when the word "icon" is used by non-Orthodox to describe the priestly identity of the ordained minister, there may still be a lack of understanding of the meaning of the word. For example, some have even used the terms "icon" and "Vicar of Christ" interchangeably. For us these two concepts stand in opposition. One is a "vicar" for someone who is absent. Christ is not absent from his Church. Rather, the priest stands at the head of the community as a living image of the headship of Christ. Also the term "icon" is often understood in an external way, requiring some sort of physical or anatomical resemblance of the "image" to the one "depicted." This is also not the idea. An "icon" is that which most perfectly embodies and actualizes the *presence* of the one "imaged" in the deepest and fullest manner possible.

Because we understand ministry as sacramentally and mystically "iconic," we find it impossible to reduce the ordained ministry and the various ministries to a definition of function. Function flows from identity and the identity flows from Christ, not the reverse. The ordained minister as president of the eucharistic assembly expresses the full understanding of this ecclesiological relationship: the laity and clergy in concert; God with his people. In this sense we see how it can never be an "individual" ministry. It is the ministry of Christ himself in the fullness of his messianic presence and power as the Son of God, the Pastor and Priest of the people.

Paragraph 32 points out that "the community which lives in the power of the Spirit will be characterized by a variety of charisms," and that "[t]he Spirit is the giver of diverse gifts which enrich the life of the community." It also warns that "[t]he ordained ministry, which is itself a charism, must not become a hindrance for the variety of these charisms." We mentioned above our reluctance to call the ordained ministry a "charism." What we find here, however, is very precious. It is the vision of the Church as reflective on the life of the Holy Trinity. And an examination of the theology of the Holy Trinity and its relationship to ecclesiology will be helpful in understanding the meaning of "equality" in the Church among persons exercising diverse charisms and ministries. Each Person of the Holy Trinity is distinct yet equal. They differ not in nature or essence (each is equally and fully God), yet they are distinct in their persons: the Father is the Source, the unbegotten begetter, the Son is begotten of the Father, and the Spirit

proceeding from the Father rests on the Son and shines forth from him. Theirs is an equality of love and community. The hypostatic attributes indicate eternal modes of existence, not functions, within the Trinity. With regard to function, or activity, or energy, *vis-a-vis* creation, the hypostases act together as proof of their unity and equality. Similarly in the Church, as we see in paragraph 32, each person has his own distinct charism and ministry which does not hinder, but rather enhances the equality of each of the persons.

Section 4 is in general agreement with the practice of the early Church. Paragraph 36, in speaking of apostolic succession, states the following: "Under the particular historical circumstances of the growing Church in the early centuries, the succession of bishops became one of the ways, together with the transmission of the Gospel and the life of the community, in which the apostolic tradition of the Church was expressed. This succession was understood as serving, symbolizing, and guarding the continuity of the apostolic faith and communion." We fully agree with this statement only if, when one speaks of the succession of bishops as "one of the ways", it is understood as one aspect of the many aspects of tradition. It cannot be seen as "one of the ways" as compared to, for example, a presbyteral body. We say this because paragraph 36 serves as preface for paragraph 37, which states: "In churches which practice the succession through the episcopate, it is increasingly recognized that a continuity in apostolic faith, worship, and mission has been preserved in churches which have not retained the form of historic episcopate. This recognition finds additional support in the fact that the reality and function of the episcopal ministry have been preserved in many of these churches, with or without the title of bishop. Ordination, for example, is always done in them by persons in whom the Church recognizes the authority to transmit the ministerial commission." While we acknowledge that the apostolic faith is able to be preserved in a partial or weakened way in those churches that do not have an historic episcopate, we believe that the fullness of the universal tradition cannot be preserved without it. Having said this, paragraph 38, in our opinion, loses much of its meaning.

We felt Section 5 generally to be reflective of the apostolic tradition. We agree with paragraph 50 which states: "Churches which refuse to consider candidates for the ordained ministry on the ground of handicap or because they belong, for example, to one particular race or sociological group should re-evaluate their practices. This re-evaluation is particularly important today in view of the multitude of experiments in the new forms of ministry with which the churches are approaching the modern world." We would only add that no one has a right to ordination. The Church reserves the right to bear witness to the vocation

of persons who seek ordination, and does so on the basic criteria of faith, wholeness, and moral qualities which are fitting for those who are ordained to this service. The scriptures, we believe, set qualifications for ordination to diaconal, presbyterial, and episcopal ministries beyond the requirements of baptism, chrismation, and participation in the eucharist. In a word, not every member of Christ's body qualifies for service in the ordained ministry.

In the final section, Section 6 entitled *Towards the Mutual Recognition of the Ordained Ministries*, which is in a sense a conclusion of the whole document, we would point to paragraph 53 as representative of other issues as well.

In order to achieve mutual recognition, different steps are required of different churches. For example:

a) Churches which have preserved the episcopal succession are asked to recognize both the apostolic content of the ordained ministry which exists in churches which have not maintained such succession and also the existence in these churches of a ministry of *episkope* in various forms.

b) Churches without the episcopal succession, and living in faithful continuity with the apostolic faith and mission, have a ministry of Word and sacrament, as is evident from the belief, practice, and life of those churches. These churches are asked to realize that the continuity with the Church of the apostles finds profound expression in the successive laying on of hands by bishops and that, though they may not lack the continuity of the apostolic tradition, this sign will strengthen and deepen that continuity. They may need to recover the sign of the episcopal succession.

While we understand why this may have had to have been so diplomatically phrased, it is difficult, if not impossible, for us to recognize *episkope* without or outside of *episkopos*. This has never been the experience of the Church, and it becomes necessary for all churches who wish to remain faithful to scripture and tradition to restore the episcopal office.

The issue of women's ordination is addressed in paragraph 54.

Some churches ordain both men and women, others ordain only men. Differences on this issue raise obstacles to the mutual recognition of ministries. But those obstacles must not be regarded as substantive hindrance for further efforts towards mutual recognition. Openness to each other holds the possibility that the Spirit may well speak to one church through the insights of another. Ecumenical considerations, therefore, should encourage, not restrain, the facing of this question.

While we are sympathetic, we see the discussion of men and women in the Church, especially as regards women's ordination to the priesthood, as central and not peripheral. It is difficult not to regard this as a "substantive hindrance for further efforts towards mutual recognition." We refer to our comments above on this issue and restate that this issue cannot be overlooked on our way toward mutual recognition.

With regard to consequences which we can draw from the statement on the ministry pertaining to the present Orthodox practice, we would offer the following observations. The Church has always understood that there was a rich variety of ministries and ministers. It is only recently that many of the "minor" orders have disappeared. We would not only urge steps towards the restoring the order of deaconess, but also other of the clerical ministries which would testify to the diversity of Christian service. This also raises another point. Clerical authority in the Orthodox Church has tended over the years, and for whatever historical reasons, to become "autocratic." We found paragraph 16, quoted above, to be particularly descriptive of our situation. An expansion of the clergy to include more and varied "lower" orders and more shared authority within the community could only make our witness to the true apostolicity of our holy Orthodox Church more authentic and convincing. None of what we suggest is outside of the universal tradition and experience of the Church. In fact, most of the forms are extant in existing rites and practices. All that is needed is that we pay closer attention to what we pray and how we act.

In conclusion, we would like to affirm that we are encouraged by the Lima document. We find it a great step forward and are hopeful about the entire process of reception. May our Lord, through his Holy Spirit, guide and preserve us as we follow Christ in seeking visible unity in faith, worship, and practice. Our goal is the fulfillment of Christ's prayer that we be, in truth, one Church under one Lord sharing in one faith, one baptism, and one eucharist.

The above Response to the BEM Report represents the thinking of the Orthodox Theological Society in America. Basically, the Response is the product of an editorial committee consisting of Fathers Stanley Harakas, Theodore Stylianopoulos, Thomas Hopko, and Professor Veselin Kesich. Their reports, notes, and discussions were subsequently put into written form by the undersigned. The entire document was then reviewed by all. We hope that the Response assists Orthodox Christians in understanding the BEM and its implications.

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An Agreed Statement on the Lima Document *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* by the Eastern Orthodox/Roman Catholic Consultation, USA 1984

THE EASTERN ORTHODOX/ROMAN CATHOLIC Consultation in the United States, during its 27th, 28th, and 29th meetings (1983-84) studied the *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* document of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches.

We welcome the *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* document and we take this opportunity to comment on its separate sections. In what follows we call attention to those elements which we particularly appreciate and affirm as representative of the faith of the Church and note those which we judge to require further clarification.

Baptism

The presentation of the theological meaning of baptism as renewal of life in Christ, participation in Christ's death and resurrection, cleansing from sin, the gift of the Spirit, incorporation into the body of Christ, and a sign of the kingdom, sets forth essential elements of faith in regard to this sacrament. Chief among these are the affirmation that Christian baptism is in water and the Spirit, in the name of the Trinity, and that baptism is an unrepeatable act. We particularly appreciate the way in which the document relates the sacrament of baptism so intimately to faith and views baptism as the foundation of a life-long process of growth in Christ. In this, and in its treatment of the practice of baptism, the document offers an approach to the resolution of historical controversies over baptism, especially those about infant and adult baptism. In regard to both practices, the document gives due significance to the faith and life of the Church. Because faith is so central to baptism, we agree with the document's admonition to the churches to exercise discernment in their baptismal practice, particularly, but not exclusively, in the baptism of infants. At the same time, we are mindful that baptism is a divine gift received and celebrated in the context of the community of faith. For this reason, we also agree that the celebration of baptism should include, as far as possible, the local community of faith.

The issue of the unity of the sacraments of initiation is treated in a sensitive way. We affirm with the Lima Statement that baptism, in its full meaning, signifies and effects both "participation in Christ's death and resurrection" and "the receiving of the Spirit." We further recognize that each of our churches expresses this unity in its rites, though there are significant differences in practice. For the Orthodox, the conferring of baptism, chrismation, and eucharist takes place in a single liturgical celebration, whether for adults or infants. For Roman Catholics, reception of eucharist and confirmation are delayed in the case of infant baptism. These practices are based on different pastoral and theological concerns. However we affirm with the document that catechesis and nurture in the Christian life are necessary in all cases.

Within this agreement on the essentials of baptism, we also recognize the need for further clarification of a number of points.

First, the action and role of the Holy Spirit in the structure of the rite of Christian initiation should be as strongly developed in the section on baptism as it is in the section on eucharist.

Second, the role of the faith of the Church in baptism is not clearly enough explained. In our view it is not sufficient to treat this matter merely in the section on baptismal practice.

Third, the way in which the unity of the sacraments of initiation is expressed in practice has doctrinal implications which need further consideration and which suggest the need for revision of practice. For the Orthodox, the unity of the sacraments of initiation is maintained in both adult and infant baptism by the acts of chrismation and reception of the Holy Eucharist. For Roman Catholics, this unity is clearly expressed in the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults, although it is not as obvious in the practice of infant baptism. The Consultation agrees that the practice of admitting or not admitting baptized infants to the eucharist needs further exploration.

Finally, we find that the document's use of the terminology contrasting "believer's baptism" and "infant baptism" to be unfortunate. Despite the disclaimers in Commentary (12), it suggests, against our convictions, that baptized infants are unbelievers or that faith is lacking in the case of infant baptism. In so doing, the document misses an opportunity to move the discussion beyond the terms of historical debates.

Despite the need for such clarifications, the Consultation agrees that in the Lima Statement we can recognize to a considerable degree the faith of the Church in regard to baptism. Because of this agreement, we recommend that our two churches explore the possibility of a formal recognition of each other's baptism as a sacrament of our unity in the body of Christ, although we acknowledge that any such recognition is conditioned by other factors.

Eucharist

We welcome the recognition of the centrality of the eucharist in the life of the Church and the theological breadth of the document's presentation of the meaning of the eucharist. In its treatment of eucharist as thanksgiving, memorial, invocation, communion, and meal of the kingdom, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* succeeds in conveying a sense of the full significance of the eucharistic celebration. Its accent on frequent celebration of the eucharist and participation in communion we also find in keeping with the faith of the Church. The strong emphasis on the trinitarian dynamics of the eucharist, especially the balanced presentation of the role of the Holy Spirit and the role of Christ, makes it possible to move beyond the terms of some historical controversies. The emphasis on the epicletic nature of the entire eucharist celebration may help to overcome controversy about the moment of consecration. Similarly, the affirmation of Christ as High Priest and host who gathers the community and is present in the eucharistic gifts in a unique way may help to overcome excessive concentration on the eucharistic elements in isolation from the liturgical action of the community.

We also affirm the document's view of the eucharist as the sacrament of the unique and unrepeatable sacrifice of Christ in behalf of all. We likewise appreciate the way in which *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* expresses the social and ethical dimensions of eucharist by seeing in Christ's self-offering the source and model of Christians' self-offering as "living and holy sacrifices in their daily lives," as servants of reconciliation in the world. In addition we welcome the document's emphasis on the eucharist's role as uniting the whole world to the offering of Christ, and as preparing for the sanctification and transformation of all creation. Eucharist is thus integrated into the whole of life and cannot be understood as an isolated liturgical event or simply as an expression of individual piety.

Because the presentation of the eucharist is remarkably rich yet succinct, there are inevitably some points that require further clarification or development.

First, we would welcome fuller discussion of the way in which eucharist manifests the nature of the church as the body of Christ. Eucharist is related to the very being of the Church and cannot be seen simply as a strengthening of the grace of baptism.

Second, the relationship between Christ's sacrifice and his presence in the eucharist requires further clarification, particularly in regard to his offering of himself to the Father and his giving of himself to us as spiritual food.

Third, we note that *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* mentions the practice of reservation of the eucharist without presenting an adequate

theological rationale for it. For the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, it is our faith that the bread and wine become and remain the body and blood of Christ that allows us to reserve the sacrament. We would therefore welcome further elaboration of this point.

Finally, concerning the possibility of eucharist sharing, we do not find that growing consensus on eucharistic theology and practice is, of itself, sufficient for such sharing among our churches. The resolution of questions connected with ministry and the nature and faith of the Church are also important, as we note below.

Although we find such clarifications and further considerations necessary, we nevertheless are in agreement that the section on eucharist represents to a considerable degree the faith of the Church.

Ministry

By locating the ordained ministry in the context of the Church as the people of God, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* appropriately relates ordained ministry to the ministry of all Christians, while also clearly distinguishing the two. We appreciate its affirmation of the diverse and complementary gifts for ministry of all the baptized. At the same time, we recognize the importance of its assertion that the ordained ministry, tracing its origins to apostolic times, is a permanent and constitutive element of the life of the Church. In this regard, we also commend especially the recognition that "a ministry of *episkope* is necessary to express and safeguard the unity of the body."

We find helpful the treatment of the historical development of the three-fold ministry, as well as the delineation of the functions of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, which are adequately outlined and balanced.

Apostolic succession is rightly interpreted as involving the total life of the Church. The view that ordained ministry is an integral part of the apostolic tradition is especially useful in advancing ecumenical discussion. Ordained ministry is thus understood as one of the expressions of the Church's apostolicity. This understanding, in our judgment, is confirmed by the act of ordination within the believing community which signifies the bestowal of the gift of ministry through the laying on of hands of the bishop and the epiclesis of the Holy Spirit.

We commend the treatment of the authority of the ordained ministry as an authority of service exercised through love. We affirm with the document that ordained ministry derives from Jesus Christ and is to be exercised in a manner that is personal, collegial, and communal. Thus interdependence and reciprocity between the faithful and their ordained ministers is rightly emphasized.

We welcome the document's invitation to all the churches to reexamine their understanding and practice of ordained ministry. Some

churches are challenged by the possibility of recognizing the ministry of *episkope* in those churches which have not maintained the historical pattern of the three-fold ministry. Other churches are challenged by the possibility of recognizing the value of the historical pattern and incorporating it into their structure. These challenges may offer a fruitful way toward ecumenical agreement on the ordained ministry.

Along with the areas of agreement indicated above, there is need for clarification on other matters treated in this section.

Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry attempts to integrate two approaches to ministry: one—personal, the other—functional, by recognizing the charism of ministry as a gift of God in and for the Church. We appreciate this effort, but do not find it entirely successful. For example, the non-repeatability of ordination is mentioned only in passing in the context of conditions for ordination; its theological rationale is not adequately developed.

In general, the document presents as possible, even laudable opinions, certain aspects of ordained ministry that we consider normative for the Church's life and structure. These normative aspects include the three-fold ministry; the historical succession of office holders in the episcopal ministry; the exclusive conferral of ordination by those entrusted with the *episkope* of the community; and the presidency of the eucharist exclusively by an ordained minister.

Although *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* recognizes, at least to a degree, the sacramental nature of the ordained ministry, it does not adequately develop this important aspect of ministry. This is particularly evident in its failure to relate more closely ordained ministry to the eucharist, as the central sacrament and expression of the Church's reality. While we appreciate the description of ordained ministry as having a priestly character, we would require a treatment of the differences between the priesthood of all believers, the ministerial priesthood, and of their relation to the priesthood of Christ.

In addition to the document's emphasis on *episkope* as necessary ministry in the Church, we affirm that the episcopal office is a constitutive element of the structure of the Church. This office exercises primacy in teaching, leadership of worship, and government in the local church and has a responsibility for ordering the local church to the universal church. It follows that complete reconciliation of the churches will depend on the presence in those churches of this episcopal office.

In its commendable attention to the communal context of ordained ministry, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* only implies the prophetic dimension of ministry, that is to say, the God-given authority to challenge, confront, and correct the community. In this context the historical role of binding and loosing could well have been developed.

Finally, we understand mutual recognition of ministries as part of a process of growth toward unity, marked by several steps. In our view, agreement on the understanding of ordained ministry and mutual recognition of ministries are important steps in this process but they are not of themselves sufficient for the restoration of full communion among the churches. Further doctrinal consensus is required. For example, because of traditional and theological reasons the question of ordination of women to the priesthood is of greater consequence and hence a greater obstacle to eucharistic sharing than the document suggests. A prerequisite for the restoration of eucharistic sharing is the satisfactory articulation of our apostolic faith.

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An Orthodox Assessment of the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches

GEORGE TSETSIS

THE SIXTH ASSEMBLY of the World Council of Churches, which met at Vancouver (Canada) from July 24 to August 10, 1983, is now part of the history of the ecumenical movement.

An assembly is an exceptional event, mobilizing and challenging a large number of church circles, and more particularly the member churches of the WCC, which, in accordance with their own "ecumenical" creed, their ecclesiological and theological positions and their sociological outlook, strive to give a common Christian "witness" in the world today.

For eighteen days, 835 official delegates of the WCC member churches, joined by an impressive number of advisers, observers, representatives of the mass media,¹ and staff, discussed in depth the theme of the Assembly, "Jesus Christ, the Life of the World," reviewed WCC's activities over the past seven years and, on the basis of reports emanating from the Assembly itself, set down the general framework of programs for the coming septennium.²

Right after the Assembly, Professor Jean-Marc Chappuis of the Theological Faculty of Geneva University, presenting an off-the-cuff account of the work accomplished at Vancouver, summed it up neatly in these terms: "After the euphoria of New Delhi in 1961, the excitement of Uppsala in 1968 and the tensions of Nairobi in 1975, Vancouver was a fervent celebration of God, the Creator and Savior of Life, and through the inspiration of the Spirit, initiated a new mobilization

¹ The WCC computer registered 3,148 persons related to the Assembly, in various capacities. The number does not include the thousand or so regular or daily visitors.

² According to the WCC's Constitution, the Assembly which is the Council's supreme legislative body, meets every seven years. Cf. "The Constitution of the World Council of Churches," D. Paton, *Breaking Barriers* (London 1976), p. 318.

towards church unity and the renewal of humankind.”³ Though some time will elapse before the material elaborated by the Assembly is assimilated⁴ and all that was said and done at Vancouver is evaluated in depth by the member churches, the above statement of the Swiss professor holds a lot of truth. For the festive character of the different manifestations, the effort to give a theological basis to almost every decision made by the Assembly, and the obvious tendency to underline the churches’ common marching “in our Kingdom pilgrimage,”⁵ all these are the salient factors that will remain engraved in the memory of those who “lived” the Assembly.

The aim of the present article is not to give a detailed account of the various events, nor to analyze reports, statements and other texts issued at Vancouver, but simply to make an initial assessment of the Assembly’s results, particularly in relation to the future programmatic activities of the WCC, and the role the Orthodox should play in it.

THE SIXTH ASSEMBLY THEME

It is traditional for WCC Assemblies to meet round a main theme which normally reflects the preoccupations and concerns of the Christian world at a given moment of history. Going back in the past, one can see that the main themes of WCC Assemblies did not depend on a random choice. For example, the theme of the inaugural Assembly (Amsterdam, 1948), “Man’s Disorder and God’s Design,” expressed an attempt by the churches who were trying to recover their forces, following the devastating Second World War, in order to give a responsible Christian witness during the post-war period. The Evanston theme (1954), “Jesus Christ, the Hope of the World,” was nothing but a confession of the churches to the then masters of the world who, involved in the cold war between East and West, were creating feelings of insecurity and hopelessness. Seven years later, at New Delhi (1961), in a distinctly non-Christian country, but with deep cultural roots and a particular religiosity, the theme was par excellence missionary: “Jesus Christ, the Light of the World.” Later at Uppsala (1968), under the

³ J.-M. Chappuis, “Fin des assises de Vancouver,” *La Suisse*, August 12, 1983, p. 3.

⁴ It is worth mentioning that during the Assembly fourteen tons of paper were used for the production of statements, speeches, reports and various liturgical texts.

⁵ Cf. “Message from the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches,” D. Gill (ed.), *Gathered for Life*, official report, Sixth Assembly of the WCC, p. 2

influence of the optimism that prevailed in the 60s, the churches chose as a theme the apocalyptic "Behold, I make all things new" (Rev 21.5). Finally, at Nairobi (1975), in the heart of Africa, a recently liberated from colonialism, but ideologically and racially extremely divided continent, the Fifth Assembly met under the theme "Jesus Christ Frees and Unites."

The Vancouver Assembly was not exempt from this rule. At a time when not only human life, but life in all its forms, is daily threatened with a violent or slow death, the WCC called on its member churches to deepen the theme "Jesus Christ, the Life of the World," and give a reply to the question of what this affirmation means for us today. Professor Theodore Stylianopoulos of the Holy Cross Theological School, Brookline, Massachusetts, and a member of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's delegation to Vancouver, and Dr. Allan Boesak, a South African theologian and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, presented the main theme, the former with a biblical/theological analysis, based mainly on Saint John's Gospel, and the latter with a personal witness, which forcibly echoed the racial drama of Southern Africa. Two different styles, two diametrically opposite theological traditions, but nevertheless one and the same message from these two profound and complementary presentations, i.e. that God does not merely give life, but gives eternal and true life, which constitutes the quintessence of the Church. This confession contains another truth, according to Boesak, namely that Jesus Christ, who is the life of the world, is concerned not only for the Church, but for the whole world. "In his life, death and resurrection lies not only the future of the Church, but the future of the world. Therefore, his being our peace has consequences not only for the Church but also for the world. Therefore, the Church must clearly and unequivocally proclaim that Jesus Christ came to give meaningful life to the world, so that all of human history, all human activity can be renewed and liberated from death and destruction."⁶

However, the fact that Christ is the life of the world, added Professor Stylianopoulos, means that Christians are called to a radical "repentance, spiritual renewal, urgency on the walk towards unity, common witness, prophetic action, being ready to die for others in Christ's name. We ourselves then become, and only then, convincing in our confession of Christ as the life of the world."⁷

⁶ Allan Boesak, "Jesus Christ, the Life of the World," *Gathered for Life*, p. 226.

⁷ Theodore Stylianopoulos, "Jesus Christ, the Life of the World," *Gathered for Life*, p. 222.

These aforementioned presentations on the main theme were followed, during the first week of the Assembly, by papers on the following sub-themes:

- a) Life as a Gift of God.
- b) Life Confronting and Overcoming Death.
- c) Life in its Fullness.
- d) Life in Unity.

Three Orthodox contributed to the presentation of the sub-themes: Protopresbyter Professor Vitaly Borovoy, of the Moscow Patriarchate, Mother Euphrasia, of the Bucharest Patriarchate, and Miss Frieda Haddad, of the Antioch Patriarchate.

If Father Borovoy's paper on sub-theme: (d), "Life in Unity," could be characterized as a sober and traditional presentation of the eucharistic communion as the true and full life in Christ,⁸ and Mother Euphrasia's contribution on sub-theme (c), "Life in its Fullness," as a personal testimony on how life is experienced in a monastic community,⁹ it can be said that the presentation of the sub-theme "Life Confronting and Overcoming Death," by the Lebanese social worker Frieda Haddad, was a pathetic account of the tragedy Lebanon has been going through for the past eight years, and a moving description of the last Easter liturgy in a downtown Beirut church when, beneath the din of the shellings, but also surrounded by the triumphal chanting of the Paschal hymn "Christ is Risen," an entire people was experiencing death in the midst of life. "A whole nation living under the sign of the cross, a country living under death, living in this constant boundary-situation between death and life, reaching out with Thomas and feeling the sting of death in an immediate first-hand touch of the risen Christ, and thus tasting the sweetness and glory of life confronting and overcoming death."¹⁰

Several presentations on the sub-themes stated above were made by other distinguished personalities, such as Archbishop John Vikstrom, head of the Lutheran Church of Finland, Jan Pronk, a theologizing Dutch layman and Deputy Secretary General of UNCTAD, and the controversial West German theologian Dorothea Soelle.

⁸ Vitaly Borovoy, "Life in Unity," *Ecumenical Review*, 36 (1984) 3-10.

⁹ Mother Euphrasia, "Life in its Fullness," *Ecumenical Review*, 35 (1983) 393.

¹⁰ Frieda Haddad, "Life in the Midst of Death," *Ecumenical Review*, 35 (1983) 386

THE PROBLEMATICS OF VANCOUVER

In the second week the Assembly began, I would say, its laboratory work. After a brief dramatic presentation in plenary of the eight Assembly issues, related primarily to the ongoing activities of WCC on subjects such as Christian unity, mission and evangelism, diakonia, education, Christian witness in the present-day world, the relationship between Church, science and technology and the role of the Church in confronting the problems created by the socio-political context of our age, the Assembly was divided into groups and clusters to discuss in depth these eight issues and to give guidelines for the future activities of the WCC.

The work of these issue groups, which was eventually adopted by the plenary, can be summed up under the following three chapters:

Christian Witness in the World of Today

The group which met for the theme "Witnessing in a divided world" dealt chiefly with the problematics of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism and of the sub-unit on Dialogue with other Faiths and Ideologies. Starting from the basic supposition that Christians of every generation and every age are called to give witness of Christ, the group first examined the relationship between Gospel and culture, particularly from the angle of the problems created in the past by different missionary movements among the peoples they evangelized, underestimating or often even ignoring their cultural substratum. The group then underlined the need for a theological study to give a new dimension to our understanding of indigenous culture. It went on to point out that worship should be at the very centre of the life, mission, witness and service of the Church, seeing it as the means by which the faithful become partakers of the grace of God. If notwithstanding in many cases a certain satiation is evident, expressing itself in a massive staying away from worship services, notably Sunday worship, this might mean that worship has lost the character of "public witness" which it should have.

The group dealt also with the Christian witness to non-Christians with whom Christians are forced to co-exist, in a religiously and ideologically pluralistic world: what Christian witness would mean, for instance, in a Moslem-dominated Middle East, a Buddhist or Shintoist Asia, an officially atheist Eastern Europe or in our progressively de-Christianized Western societies? The answer was not easy to give. At one moment there was even talk about syncretism, particularly when

the group states that "while we confess the uniqueness of the birth, life, death and resurrection of Jesus and testify to him, we recognize the creative work of God also in the religious experiences of peoples of different religions." However, the group emphasized that our relations with non-Christians should be governed on the one hand by witness, that is, the preaching of the Gospel and the inviting of others into the Lord's vineyard, and, on the other hand, dialogue which could be qualified as an encounter of peoples of different religious convictions, who discuss their differences within a framework of mutual respect.¹¹

Christian Unity

According to its Constitution, the main goal of the WCC is "the calling of the churches to a visible unity, in one and the same faith and eucharistic communion, lived in worship and the common life in Christ."¹² There is no doubt that at Vancouver, Christian unity received a new impetus and opened up new prospects for the WCC at a moment in its history when it was giving the impression that the above-mentioned goal of the Council had been neglected to make way for other more "horizontal," socio-political goals. This was partly thanks to the Assembly's adoption of the document on "Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry" (BEM),¹³ and its official transmission to the churches for reception and formulation of an official reply. The BEM document was referred to Issue Group 2, which met under the general title of "Taking Steps toward Unity." Moderator of this group was Metropolitan John of Helsinki, and one of the main speakers on the reception of BEM by the churches was Dr. Alexandros Papaderos, director of the Orthodox Academy of Crete. No doubt that the BEM text is the fruit of twenty years of intensive and patient work by the Commission on Faith and Order on three of the basic elements of our Christian faith, namely baptism, Eucharist and ministry, on which there was, however, no agreement between the different theological traditions.

Certainly BEM is not a new "ecumenical creed." It is simply a document of converging views of Orthodox, Protestant and Roman Catholic theologians from which, however, it becomes clear that despite the variety of theological traditions which were developed in the course

¹¹ "Witnessing in a Divided World," *Gathered for Life*, pp 31-42.

¹² "The Constitution of the WCC," *Breaking Barriers*, p 317.

¹³ It should be noted that the BEM text was voted almost unanimously, with the abstention of the delegation of the Church of Greece which, following an earlier official decision of that Church, considered the document not sufficiently Orthodox.

of history, the churches do possess a common heritage, at least concerning baptism, Eucharist and ministry. It is true that this applies more to the first two elements of this study, given that on ministry—at least on the Orthodox side—there are some reserves on several points.

BEM's significance did not escape the attention of at least part of the secular press, which is not always distinguished for its sympathy regarding religious topics. Thus the weekly "Newsweek" ran a commentary calling the document a challenge of the WCC to the churches, summoning them to return to the faith of apostolic tradition of the first eight centuries.¹⁴ The churches' stand with regard to the BEM document will be known by the end of 1985 which is the dateline for sending in to the Commission on Faith and Order their official replies. What is important now, at least for the Orthodox, is a substantial and responsible evaluation of this document and the formulation of a common theological stance, possibly by an inter-Orthodox theological symposium, as proposed during the meeting of the Orthodox delegations in Vancouver. In this way, improvised, isolated and conflicting replies will be avoided. I think that at a moment when we try to persuade ourselves, and others, that we Orthodox make up one body and give a common witness within the WCC, this common stance is of utmost importance.

Issue Group 2 also dealt with the more general question of church unity as formulated by the Faith and Order Commission in January 1982 at Lima (Peru), emphasizing that any effort towards unity presupposes (a) a common recognition of the apostolic faith as formulated in the creeds of the one undivided Church, such as the Apostles' Creed, and especially the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, (b) an interpretation of that faith in terms readily understood by ordinary church members, and (c) a common confession of the same apostolic faith in connection with present-day problems confronting the Gospel.

As the Assembly in ratifying the group's final report rightly stated,¹⁵ though the ecumenical movement is something more than the WCC itself, the Council does not cease to be the most privileged instrument of that movement. It goes without saying, therefore, that the search for visible unity will continue to be the core of the WCC's agenda in the years ahead of us.

The coming period will certainly be rich and fruit-bearing, not only within the framework of BEM, but also with the prospect of the Fifth

¹⁴ Kenneth L. Woodward, "The Road to Christian Unity," *Newsweek*, No 34, August 22, 1983, 46

¹⁵ "Taking Steps toward Unity," *Gathered for Life*, pp 43-52

World Conference of Faith and Order,¹⁶ which the Vancouver Assembly set for 1987 or 1988.

*The Diaconal and Social Ministry of the Church*¹⁷

An activity which is also on the permanent agenda of the WCC is that which deals with the diaconal and social action of the Church. Recently, in many WCC documents, "service" was qualified as a "liturgy after the liturgy," as an extension of the Eucharist, for only in this manner could service become the tangible expression of a truly inter-aiding community. Starting from this basic principle and the fact that diakonia is an integral part of the Church's mission, rooted in the very life and acts of Christ, the Vancouver Assembly accordingly declared that the churches' diaconal and social ministry should aim at the building up of the whole person, responding not only to material, but also to physical and spiritual needs. In this context Christians should not only share God's material gifts with the dispossessed, but should take concrete steps towards creating a new society that will embrace all those who, from want, handicap, old age or loneliness lead a marginal life.

In the same context and in an effort for justice and human dignity, the Assembly called Christians to resist all forms of abusive tyranny, especially when it is exercised in the name of Christ and tends to degrade the human being. Of course, "all authority is from God" (Rom 13.1-2), but it hangs like the sword of Damocles over the heads of those who worship the idols of death and destruction. When, however, that authority becomes the source of political violence, racial discrimination, genocide and other forms of deprivation and injustice, then the churches have to oppose these demonic forces of death, by witnessing to Christ, the life of the world, as Lord who stands over the idols of our present age.

In concluding this chapter, I should also mention the efforts made by Issue Group 7 on education¹⁸ which emphasized the role of the Church both in theological and secular education, as well as Issue Group 8 which dealt with the question of communicating convincingly in order to further the ecumenical movement.¹⁹

¹⁶ Earlier World Congresses of Faith and Order took place at Lausanne (1927), Edinburgh (1937), Lund (1952) and Montreal (1963).

¹⁷ Cf. "Healing and Sharing Life in Community," *Gathered for Life*, p. 62, and "Struggling for Justice and Human Dignity," *ibid.*, pp. 83-91

¹⁸ "Learning in Community," *Gathered for Life*, pp. 93-102.

¹⁹ "Communicating Credibly," *Gathered for Life*, pp. 103-10.

PRIORITIES FOR WCC IN THE COMING SEPTENNium

The above outline of the Vancouver problematics gives, I hope, a faint idea of the short and longer-term goals of the WCC for the seven years ahead. Already the Assembly, acting on the recommendations of the Programme Guidelines Committee,²⁰ set the following priorities for future WCC activities:

1. Ways leading the churches towards a visible unity must remain at the center of the WCC's activities. A *sine qua non* condition, however, in our way towards this unity is a common definition on how we understand the apostolic faith today.

2. The promotion of ecumenical relations between churches, communities and ecumenical organizations at all levels must be one of the Council's main goals in the coming years.

3. The theological research which is already taking place within various WCC programs should be intensified and coordinated, especially in view of the various planned studies, such as the study of Gospel and culture, or the biblical and theological basis of social ethics.

4. The teaching of the Gospel should be transparent in all WCC activities. The Council should help its member churches in their efforts to proclaim Christ. At the same time it should draw a clear line between evangelism and proselytism, notably in view of the activities of various sects or neo-religious movements, which not only often ignore the Church in a given place and act at its expense, but which also, willy-nilly, become organs of alien political goals.

5. The WCC must assist its member churches in their efforts to establish justice and peace in the world and to fight contemporary ills such as racism, economic exploitation, militarism and the deviation of science and technology from their original goal.

6. The WCC must actively contribute to the creation of a new social structure in which clergy and laity, men and women, young and old, well and sick, will share responsibility and will have the feeling of belonging to one and the same family.

7. The concerns and perspectives of women should become an integral part of the work of all WCC sub-units.

8. Ecumenical awareness among clergy and laity, based on a sound "ecumenical learning," should be encouraged for the sake of the ecumenical movement itself.

With the drawing up of the above priorities, it becomes clear that the Vancouver Assembly deliberately tried to bring a certain balance

²⁰ "Report of the Assembly's Programme Guidelines Committee," *Gathered for Life*, pp. 247-60.

into the activities of the WCC which recently gave the impression that it was tending to become a body with mainly socio-political interests. The new theological approach initiated at Vancouver did not go unnoticed, to the extent that even conservative evangelicals²¹ emphasized in an open letter that the biblical and spiritual dimension of this Assembly had helped them get rid of several stereotype negative notions they had had about the WCC.²²

There is no doubt that with the implementation of the above priorities by the Central Committee through the Geneva staff and with the continuation of several permanent but vital programs—such as inter-church aid, care for refugees and migrants, etc.—the period begun at Vancouver promises to be rich in harvest and expectations.

THE POLITICAL POSITIONS OF THE VANCOUVER ASSEMBLY

In accordance with its Rules, the WCC can make declarations or speak up on contemporary political issues. Ever since the inaugural Assembly of Amsterdam (1948), every Assembly and nearly every Central and Executive Committee meeting has issued declarations on various explosive situations around the world.

Many are those who consider that Church and politics are incompatible, and therefore that the WCC, as an inter-ecclesiastical body, should put an end to its practice of politicizing and deal exclusively with religious and socio-ethical issues. But there are also those—not a few—who believe that the Church as a spiritual and moral force can and must influence the world's destinies, particularly when peace is endangered and when human rights—the rights of the image of God—are at stake. I think the aforementioned was well put by Jan Pronk in his address to the plenary at Vancouver. A UN technocrat himself, he did not hesitate to say that the solution to the present-day world's problems should not be left to the bureaucrats, diplomats, politicians and other technocrats alone. The Church, as a guardian of moral values, and also as people of God, as a people's movement, is in a position to challenge power and advocate for change.²³

On that basis, therefore, the churches present at Vancouver reviewed a series of international crises and made a number of declarations and statements, one has to admit, not always with ease, concerning South

²¹ It is a known fact that the so-called 'evangelicals' have been against the WCC from the start, and their criticisms have often been harsher than those of Orthodox conservative circles.

²² Bruce Best, "Evangelicals Affirm Role in Ecumenism," *Canvas*, No. 14, August 10, 1983, 25.

²³ Jan Pronk, "Bread for All," *Ecumenical Review*, 36 (1984), 14.

Africa, Central America, the Pacific, Lebanon, Palestine, Jerusalem, Afghanistan and Cyprus, as well as the whole issue of human rights. I wish to particularly mention here two pronouncements of the Assembly on two cases, having a special interest for the Orthodox, namely the questions of Jerusalem and Cyprus.

With regard to Jerusalem, in making a clear allusion to the disquieting phenomenon of emigration of the Christian population of the Holy City, the Assembly strongly emphasized the need for a permanent, indigenous Christian presence and witness in Jerusalem²⁴ and underlined that the special legislation, known as the *status quo* of the Holy Places, should be preserved and confirmed in any agreement on the future of Jerusalem.

On the Cyprus question, the Assembly, after reiterating earlier declarations and actions of the WCC, expressed its deep anxiety over the lack of progress towards a just and peaceful solution. It consequently appealed for the implementation of all the relevant resolutions of the UN, especially concerning the immediate resumption of inter-communal negotiations under UN auspices with a view to reaching an agreement and called for proper respect and reverence of places of worship. The Assembly also instructed staff to continue its cooperation with relevant partners dealing with the problem of missing persons.²⁵

My impression from the lengthy and often painful discussions preceding the voting on public issues, is that this part of WCC's work, important though it is, constitutes nevertheless the Council's Achilles' heel, since the widely differing conditions under which its member churches live render it necessary to apply different weights and measures when making declarations, thereby running the risk of appearing biased, or at least choosy, in any condemnations. It is a fact that while in a document deploring the role of the USA in Central America, or apartheid in South Africa, we may use blunt language, we cannot do the same in a document, i.e. referring to the USSR presence in Afghanistan, for—as Dr. Philip Potter pertinently put it—one must keep in mind those who do not always enjoy freedom of speech, and who, on their return home, are obliged to account for their words and deeds.

²⁴ This phrase also refers, however, to the presence in Jerusalem of pro-Zionist Christian groups, chiefly of American origin, which, in an attempt to present Zionist views on the Middle East question to pilgrims and tourists from Europe and America, have set up an "International Christian Embassy" in West Jerusalem

²⁵ In this connection it should be pointed out that in the past the WCC has cooperated with appropriate quarters, especially with the Pan-Cypriot Committee of Parents of Missing Persons, and has forwarded a dossier to the UN Commission on Human Rights

THE ORTHODOX PRESENCE AT THE SIXTH ASSEMBLY

In spite of all that is said about the negligible influence of the Orthodox on the WCC's life and action, and the doubts expressed from time to time (reflecting personal views rather than official church positions) about the usefulness of maintaining Orthodox membership in the Council, it is a fact that the Orthodox participation in the life of the WCC has grown and become more dynamic, valuable and creative, as the report of the Assembly Policy Reference Committee 1 rightly observed.²⁶ The serious preparation made by most of the Orthodox delegations and their active participation in all the phases of the Assembly's work are clear indications of their creative presence.

It is regrettable that several Orthodox churches were not in a position to send full delegations to the Assembly.²⁷ In spite of that, however, the Orthodox at Vancouver constituted an imposing body, making their presence felt not only by their colorful appearance(!), but also by their important theological input. One has to start with the solemn holy liturgy celebrated by Archbishop Iakovos of North and South America on the Transfiguration Day who, in an imposing sermon, set the tune and invited participants to look upon the Assembly theme with a prayerful mind and heart . . . and to project it to those men and women of this century who are praying that the twenty-first century be the century of Christ.²⁸

In that spirit, Orthodox participants played a leading role in many important committees and working groups at the Assembly, while others contributed in other ways. One can mention the names of Chrysostomos of Myra (Moderator of Policy Reference Committee 1), Parthenios of Carthage (Vice-Moderator of Programme Guidelines Committee), John of Helsinki (Moderator of Issue Group 2 on church unity), Alexiy Buevsky (Vice-Moderator of Policy Reference Committee 2), John Zizioulas (Vice-Moderator of the Assembly Message Committee) and those who spoke on the theme or sub-themes of the Assembly, such as Theodore Stylianopoulos, Vitaly Borovoy, Mother Euphrasia, Frieda Haddad and Alexandros Papaderos. In addition, many others such as George Dragas (Ecumenical Patriarchate), Dora Nikolopoulou-Titaki (Ecumenical Patriarchate), Nina Bobrova (Moscow Patriarchate), Viorel Ionita (Bucharest Patriarchate) and Benedict Englezakis (Church

²⁶ This Community was chaired by Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra and dealt with, among other things, the WCC's relations with its member churches and with the Roman Catholic Church; "Sharing in Life," p. 116.

²⁷ Constantinople sent 13 instead of 14, Alexandria 3 instead of 4, Serbia 4 instead of 10 and Greece only 4 instead of 13.

²⁸ *Orthodox Observer*, 49, No 912 (September 7, 1983), 2

of Cyprus) functioned as rapporteurs of the plenary or of clusters and committees and gave a serious and responsible Orthodox witness.

At this point one has to mention also the election of Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra as Vice-Moderator of the incoming Central Committee.

The question which could be asked is what is the benefit of the Orthodox from this presence in the Council when the Orthodox, at least numerically speaking, constitute the automatic minority of the WCC?

One could answer that at first sight it would indeed seem that Orthodoxy stands to gain nothing from its collaboration with Protestant churches within the WCC. But if we consider that the Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement and, by extension, in the WCC, is foremost a presence of witnessing to the faith of the One Undivided Church, as a means of facilitating the Council's essential goal, which is Christian unity, then I think that, independently of whether Orthodoxy has benefited or not, it has played a decisive role in the general orientation of the Council, a role which we Orthodox are perhaps not yet conscious of, but which has not gone unnoticed by Protestant circles.

Already in 1973, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the WCC, the Ecumenical Patriarchate in its well-known declaration stated the following: "Today it will be admitted by all that the Orthodox presence in the Council has borne fruit in many positive achievements and in the mutual enrichment of the Council and its member churches. The broadening of the basis of the Constitution of the World Council of Churches, for example, in accordance with a proper trinitarian approach; the clarification of the theology of mission as basic to the aims of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church; the recognition of the need to abandon former methods of proselytism and the unequivocal condemnation of these; the taking up into ecumenical theological studies of such traditional theological themes as an understanding of Holy Tradition, the witness of the Fathers and of the Ecumenical Councils, the christology of Chalcedon, the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, of the nature and essential marks of the Church, of baptism, of the Eucharist, of the sacred ministry; . . . all these are signs of the enriching presence of Orthodoxy in the Council."²⁹

Ten years later, at Vancouver, the Sixth Assembly of the WCC has solemnly confirmed the above statement of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, not only by adopting the BEM document, or by giving an Orthodox dimension to the issue of evangelism and mission, but also, I would say, by celebrating the Eucharist, presided over by the

²⁹ "Declaration of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the WCC," *Ecumenical Review*, 25 (1973) 476.

Archbishop of Canterbury, known as the "Lima liturgy,"³⁰ which in its theological basis is Orthodox.³¹ I believe the fact that Anglican and Protestant churches of various tendencies are in a position today to celebrate a liturgy with a "peace litany," the Little and Great Entrance, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, without the *filioque*, with anamnesis and epiclesis, with the commemoration of the Virgin Mary, of the saints, patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs, is alone sufficient to give evidence that throughout the years the Orthodox seed has fallen on fertile soil and brought forth fruits.

As was said earlier, this Orthodox penetration in the WCC or—as someone pertinently remarked—the "points chalked up" by the Orthodox in the Council did not go unnoticed and began to provoke different reactions.

It is an open secret that after the publication of BEM and the clear turning of the WCC towards a more traditional, patristic theology, some conservative Protestant circles began to express fears that Orthodoxy, together with the Anglican Church, and within the Commission on Faith and Order of which it is a full member with the Roman Catholic Church, is upsetting the prevailing trends in the WCC up to now, by gradually putting an end to Protestant hegemony in the Council.

Participants at Vancouver certainly noticed the systematic disruption caused by a few, but noisy, demonstrators on the campus of the University of British Columbia who, in order to upset the Assembly and denounce the "philorthodoxy" of the WCC, were distributing leaflets pleading for the reinstatement of the "filioque"; their argument being that, with its removal on the WCC's initiative from the Nicene creed, the very existence of the West was in jeopardy (*sic*); or bearing placards with the inscription: "Potter rejects the Council of Florence,"³² and some parading disguised as Orthodox monks beating an Anglican bishop!

It is true that these demonstrations belonged chiefly to conservative evangelical denominations, having little in common with the main line Protestant churches participating in the WCC. And their provocation in Vancouver was met by indifference or at least with ironic smiles by

³⁰ The text of this liturgy was elaborated by the Commission on Faith and Order on the basis of the BEM document. The liturgy was celebrated for the first time in January 1982, on the occasion of the Faith and Order Commission meeting at Lima (Peru).

³¹ It would be worth undertaking an Orthodox evaluation and a theological and liturgical analysis of this remarkable liturgy.

³² Who would have thought that at the end of the twentieth century the General Secretary of the WCC would shine forth as the worthy successor of Mark of Ephesos!

the Assembly participant. The fact remains, however, that the dynamic Orthodox presence in the Council is disturbing, to the point that certain integrist American circles, not strange to some political circuits, in their hostility towards the Assembly, qualified the First Pan-Orthodox Preconciliar Conference of 1976 more or less as a conventicle in which the Orthodox worked out their plot to conquer the WCC!³³

CONCLUSION

There is no need to emphasize that the churches participating in the Vancouver Assembly, in spite of the difficulties that might have cropped up during their work, with the decisions they finally took renewed their faith in the aims of the ecumenical movement and reiterated their promise to continue their multi-dimensional collaboration within the WCC. The Message they issued at the end of the Assembly is not only a summary of the decisions taken. It constitutes also a covenant and clear mobilization of the Council's member churches on behalf of Christian unity, the witness of Christ in the world today and the upholding of justice and peace among peoples and nations. This is, I think, because churches are deeply aware that, as the third millennium of Christianity approaches, only a coordinated and global collaboration of the churches, can check those visible and invisible forces of corruption and destruction, threatening the Church and the entire world.

Throughout the eighteen days that the Assembly lasted, all the local Orthodox churches, through their delegations, spoke, acted, voted and in general took an active part in the shaping of the form the WCC should take during the coming septennium. This is certainly an indication that in spite of their reserves, the Orthodox Churches as a whole are ready to follow the line drawn by Constantinople sixty-three years ago, stretching out a hand of reconciliation and trying to answer the multitudinous needs of the world through an ecumenical cooperation.

It is well known that the relations between Orthodoxy and the ecumenical movement will be on the agenda of the Third Pan-Orthodox Preconciliar Conference.³⁴ This being the case, I believe that, quite apart from the positions taken by the Orthodox at Vancouver, a unique opportunity is now given to us to make inter-Orthodox assessment of our presence in the WCC. We should do so with a sense

³³ K. Steinherz, "World Council of Churches Meeting: Instrument of Eastern Rites' Control," *Executive Intelligence Review*, July 19, 1983, 43-46.

³⁴ See *Episkepsis*, 13, No. 279, September 15, 1983.

of responsibility, with coolness and free of prejudice. Above all, this assessment should be made not on the basis of whether the WCC happens to please X or does not further the personal ambitions of Y, but on whether it truly serves the aims for which it was founded by the member churches, and whether the Orthodox presence and witness within it has any meaning and helps the cause of Christian unity.

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the Church which they constitute, and the spirit which they guard" (pp. 5-6). Father Chrysostomos welcomes all readers to explore the contents of this book:

For those Orthodox Christians who have a Catholic view of the Church, who understand that the Church is a great mystery encompassing many views and many opinions within the confines of her dogmas, this small book should be enlightening. For those who love the great champions of tradition who have adorned the Church with their dedication, the book should occasion moments of real inspiration. For those who forget that the Church is never large enough to encompass hate, our book will mean little (pp. 6-7).

The Old Calendar Church of Greece tells us about the genesis of the Old Calendar movement as an historical and religious phenomenon now over a half century ago. It tells us about the theological and historical differences of the Old Calendarists with the State Church of Greece, its troubles, struggles, and sufferings in Greece and elsewhere, the divisions within the movement itself, the untidy relations with other Orthodox jurisdictions, the efforts made to combat what is considered ill-conceived ecumenism, and the attempts to make Orthodox Christianity itself better understood within the Orthodox world and outside of it.

Not all will agree with everything that is contained in this well conceived and well ordered book, but such a book as this should help promote a better understanding among all Orthodox Christians of each other and of the Orthodox faith which they hold in common. This is a book that can help clear up misunderstanding and promote irenic dialogue.

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G O T R 30 (85)

Art and Eloquence in Byzantium. By Henry Mcguire. Princeton University Press, 1981. Pp. xxiii + 148. 111 Figures. Hardbound, \$32.50.

This book consists of a six-page Introduction (pp. 3-8), five chapters entitled "Rhetoric in the Byzantine Church" (pp. 9-21), "Description" (pp. 22-52), "Antithesis" (pp. 53-83), "Hyperbole" (pp. 84-90), and "Lament" (pp. 91-108), a three-page "Conclusion" (pp. 109-111), twenty-nine pages of notes (pp. 113-41), and 111 black and white illustrations, listed as "figures."

The term "art" in the title and throughout the work has been used by its author to denote iconography, while the word "eloquence" has been employed by him to denote chiefly sermons and hymns.

What the nature and scope of *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* is, the author tells us concisely in the first paragraph of the Introduction. He says:

The essential premise of this book is a simple one; it is that the sermons and hymns of the Byzantine Church influenced the ways in which Byzantine artists illustrated narrative texts. Often the accounts given in the Gospels of important events are terse and succinct. Byzantine preachers and poets used their imaginations, and especially their training in ancient rhetoric, to fill in the details that the Gospels failed to provide. The literary embellishments of sermons and hymns in turn nourished the imaginations of Byzantine artists, and fundamentally affected the iconography and even the style and arrangement of their work. This book examines the influence of several rhetorical genres and techniques on the art of narration in Byzantine art and literature, particularly ekphrasis (description), antithesis, threnos (lament) and hyperbole" (p. 3).

Art and Eloquence in Byzantium provides much information about the art of rhetoric as it was used by the ancient Greeks and later by the Byzantines; but it contributes little to the understanding and appreciation of Byzantine iconography. Its approach to this eminently spiritual art is external, unspiritual, one that ignores its inner, spiritual essence and its many functions as a sacred art. This is shown by the ignoring of the many functions which icons serve to Orthodox Christians (I list and discuss seven functions in my book *Orthodox Iconography*, chap. 3.), only a few rather casual references being made to one of them, the didactic, and also by the ignoring of the theology and Christian aesthetics underlying Byzantine iconography. (See my *Orthodox Iconography*, chap. 4, and *Byzantine Thought and Art*, chaps. 5 and 6.) The external, unspiritual approach is also shown, among other things, by the author's preference for the terms "art" instead of *iconography*, "artists" instead of *iconographers*, and "pictures" and "paintings" instead of *icons*.

He undertakes to study Byzantine iconography in terms of an assumed influence of the art of rhetoric upon it, an influence which "fundamentally affected the iconography and even the style and arrangement of the work" of Byzantine artists (p. 3). Starting with this hypothesis, he seeks to verify it by resorting to various iconographic works, a large percentage of which are works of minor arts, such as miniatures in manuscripts, ivories, and sarcophagi. He concentrates on

works that appear to him to support this hypothesis and ignores those—the great bulk of monumental iconography—that lend no support to it. He ignores, for example, the mosaic masterpieces of the Church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, those of the Church of St. Demetrios at Thessalonike, those of the Church of Daphni near Athens, those of Hosios Lukas in Boeotia, those of the katholikon of Nea Mone on Chios, and those of the Church of the Protaton on Mount Athos, done by the hand of Manuel Panselinos, the most celebrated Byzantine iconographer—to cite a few examples.

The hypothetical, speculative nature of the main contention of this book can easily be discerned from many statements contained in it, such as the following, in which, for emphasis, I have italicized certain words: “*We know little* of the thought processes of Byzantine artists, because they left no written statements about themselves or their work” (p. 6). There is also the question “of the extent to which most artists, or other church-goers, could comprehend the (oratorical) texts, for many of the sermons were written in highly complicated, affected, and archaizing style” (p. 6). “It is, indeed, *likely* that educated patrons had an important role to play in the transfer of rhetorical imagery and techniques from literature to art” (p. 7). “Even if we assume that the artists who originally created those miniatures did not fully understand the archaic language of the texts, we must *assume* that their patrons could comprehend this language and that they gave the painters the appropriate instructions” (p. 8). “This strongly *suggests* that . . . ” (p. 29). “It is *possible* to demonstrate or to *speculate* that . . . ” (p. 67). “The composition . . . *may* have been inspired by the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom” (p. 73).

In support of his thesis that rhetoric influenced Byzantine iconography, McGuire remarks that “Byzantine authors made numerous references to the connections between verbal eloquence and the visual arts” (p. 9). As examples of such statements he quotes something that Saint Gregory of Nyssa and Saint Basil the Great say. The first, “speaking in the church of Theodore the Martyr, compared the colored pictures on the walls to “a book endowed with speech,” and added the famous phrase, “for painting, even if silent, knows how to speak from the wall” (p. 9). But Saint Gregory says nothing here about rhetoric or “eloquence” influencing the manner of painting the icons (to which the author of the book refers to as “colored pictures”). He simply says that holy icons tell us a story, just as written accounts do; he says nothing about a causal relationship between the two. There is another significant statement which Saint Gregory makes about icons, but which is not quoted in the book, one in which he tells us how deeply

he was moved by an icon of the sacrifice of Isaak by his father Abraham: "I have often beheld a painted representation of the passion, and have never passed by this sight without shedding tears, for art brings the story vividly to the eyes" (Migne, *PG*, 94.131b.1400c). This statement clearly does not establish the influence of "eloquence" upon iconography, but rather an influence of iconography upon "eloquence." The passage from Saint Basil, which appears in the introduction to a sermon on the forty martyred soldiers of Sebaste, is this: "I will show to all, as if in a picture, the prowess of these men. For the brave deeds of war often supply subjects for both speech writers and painters. Speech writers embellish them with their words, painters depict them on their panels, and both have led many to acts of bravery. For what the narrative presents through hearing, this silent painting shows through imitation" (p. 9). Here, again, there is no suggestion whatsoever that Basil believed that rhetoric influenced iconography. What he is saying is that the *actual acts of martyrdom supply subjects*, on the one hand to writers, and on the other hand to painters, and that their respective works have served as an incitement to many to perform similar acts. This is a very important point; it shows not that one of these arts determines or influences the other, but that both work from the *same source*, each one expressing this source in its own proper way.

This fundamental point is ignored in *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, which proceeds on the hypothesis that if the works of two arts—in this case, rhetoric and iconography—resemble one another, this resemblance must be the result of the influence of one of them upon the other. There is a failure in it to see that this resemblance is due to the fact that both arts emanate from the very same source. This common source is, in the case of the sacred arts of Byzantium, holy Scripture and the sacred history of the Eastern Orthodox Church, which includes the lives of her martyrs and other saints. This is not to deny an occasional interplay between the sacred arts—something secondary, not "fundamental," and not in the nature of a non-mutual relationship, as the author of the book assumes, positing a fundamental influence of rhetoric on iconography in Byzantium.

One may also question the author's viewing of Byzantine hymnography and sermons as species of rhetoric. Underlying this contention, too, is the fallacy of taking what is true in a particular instance as being true in general; and of viewing some secondary characteristic of a thing as its very essence.

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Book of Saints. By Mary P. Hallick. Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing Company, 1984. Pp. 164. \$5.95.

Using an unabridged edition of the *Menaia* of the Orthodox Church as her main source, Dr. Hallick has compiled a dictionary of Christian (with some pagan) names, together with variant and diminutive forms. After each entry, the origin of each name is given, together with its meaning, and, in many instances, a short biographical note of the historical person bearing the name. Included also is the feast day of each name when one exists. The volume ends with a short bibliography.

A more complete volume, with reference to saints especially, could have been achieved had the author consulted at least one additional bibliographical item: Sophronios Eustratiades' *Hagiologion tes Orthodoxou Ekklesias* (Athens, 1936). A quick glance at only three of the entries bears this out. Under the letter A, for example, such names as Abbas, Abdiesous, Abel, Averkios (or Aberkios), Abepos, Aboudimos, Agathos, Agathaggelos, Agathodoros, Agathokleia, Agathopous, Aggeles, Adauktos, Aeithalas, Aeros, Aetios, Azes, Athenogenes, Athenodoros, Akakios, Aypios, Ardalion, Archelasos, Auxentios are missing. Under the letter O, missing are Olympinos, Oonos, Ouaros, Ourpasianos, and Oursikios; and under N, such names as Nazarios, Narses, Nachor, Neadios, Neilos, Nemes, Nerdon, Nenses, Nephon, and Niketas. I am certain that if all the letters of the alphabet were searched other omissions would be found.

Despite this, however, the volume is well done as it stands and should prove to be a useful quick reference for those curious about names.

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Μελετήματα Χριστιανικῆς Ὁρθοδόξου ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ τέχνης [Studies in Orthodox Christian Archaeology and Art]. By Konstantinos D. Kalokyres. Thessalonike: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1980. Pp. xvi + 569.

This very impressive volume, a collection of studies in Byzantine art and archaeology, contains the following studies: "The Ancient Christian Basilica of Panormos Crete" (pp. 1-20); "Unpublished Inscriptions and Cuttings from Medieval Monuments of Crete" (22-31); "The Church of the Panagia (Keras) in Kritsa, Crete" (32-100); "La Peinture Byzantine de Crete" (101-09); "The Diocese of Lampe and the Panagia Lampene" (111-21); "The Basilica of Byzantine Sybritos

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BURIAL PLACES IN CAPPADOCIAN CHURCHES

Natalia B. Teteriatnikov

THE CONSIDERABLE number of burials in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia and the diversity of their architectural arrangements attest to their significance in the design and function of the church buildings in this area. Although archeologists have often noted the occurrence of graves in churches, the relevance of these burial sites for the development of Byzantine architecture has not been thoroughly investigated. Elsewhere in this volume Slobodan Ćurčić discusses the medieval royal tombs of the Balkans, and Carolyn S. Snively brings to light a group of cemetary churches in eastern Illyricum.¹ The Cappadocian material offers us the opportunity to study the architectural setting of burials in one area over a long period, from Early Christian times to the thirteenth century. At the same time the burials provide important evidence for an understanding of the various roles of monks and laity in these communities.

It is my intention here to examine the place of burial in Cappadocian churches from the Early through the Middle Byzantine period, and to outline the development of this local tradition. In presenting this subject I would like to focus on three aspects of the material: 1) The architectural evolution of the burial sites; 2) Their function in church architecture, and their liturgical significance; 3) A survey of those for whom these tombs were designed.

THE ARCHITECTURAL EVOLUTION OF BURIAL SITES

Unfortunately, no systematic archeological surveys exist of grave sites in Cappadocian churches. The tombs have been vandalized, and

A summary of this paper "The Burial Place in Cappadocian Churches" has been published in the *Ninth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers, November 4-6, Durham, N.C.* (1983), 60-61. I would like to thank Professor Thomas F. Mathews of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and Dr. Nancy Ševčenko for editing this article.

¹ Pp. 175-94 and 117-24 respectively.

thus much valuable evidence is missing. In many cases rock erosion has taken a considerable toll of the arcosolia and the funeral chambers, making it difficult to judge their original date. All this by necessity limits our study to a small group of churches, where the architectural details, inscriptions, and painted decorations have survived and can aid in clarifying the date of their execution. Nevertheless, the information which is available on various periods of Cappadocian church architecture gives us an opportunity to examine the developments of various arrangements of tombs in churches of this area over a long period of time. Our analysis will be based on examples of certain basic types, and will consider their location within the churches.

Art historians have established a general typology of Cappadocian church planning which distinguishes the following types: the basilica, single, double, or triple-nave plans, the cross plan, the cross-in-square, and the transverse nave plan.² Burial sites may occur in conjunction with any of these plans, in the porch, narthex or nave of a church, or in annexed funeral chambers, chapels or parekklesia.

Three distinct modes of burials may be distinguished in Cappadocia: the arcosolium, the burial chamber, and pavement burials. All three modes develop naturally from earlier Roman funeral architecture of the region, particularly rock-cut tombs. Although private masonry-built chambers are frequently found in the funeral architecture of both East and West, the rock-cut tombs were common in the Eastern provinces. They were often used for family burials in Anatolia from Hellenistic times on.³ Roman tombs have also been found in various parts of Cappadocia, where Christian churches were later located, at places such as Maziköy, Maçan, Azugüzel, Mavrucan, Enegilköy, Arabsun in the environs of Yarhisar, Zanzama and Avanos.⁴

Nicole Thierry brought these tombs to our attention in a brief article; however, she overlooked the importance of Roman tombs as the source for local Christian burial architecture.⁵

² Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1925-1942), 2, 401-12; Paolo Cuneo, "The Architecture," *Arts of Cappadocia*. (Geneva, Paris, Munich, 1971), 86-102; Marcell Restle, "Kappadokien," *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, 3 (1978), 980-1069.

³ For Phrygian rock-cut tombs in Asia Minor, see C.H.E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments* (Princeton, 1971), 1-2. For the rock-cut tombs of Lycia and Caria, cf. E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander* (Berlin, 1961) 4, 77-85 and 110-12; G. Perrot, G. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1890) 5, 105-45, 172-86, 196-215, 361-84.

⁴ Nicole Thierry, "Une problème de continuité ou de rupture. La Cappadoce entre Rome, Byzance et les Arabes," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*, Jan.-Mars (1977), 98-133, esp. 108-13, figs. 4 and 6-14, 29-30, with a bibliography on Roman tombs in Cappadocia; Cuneo, "The Architecture," (note 3), 85-86.

⁵ Cuneo, "The Architecture," p. 85.

Cappadocian rock-cut tombs of the Roman period share certain features with the funeral architecture of the neighboring regions of Anatolia and Syria. Examples of fourth and fifth century rock-cut tombs can be found in Phrygia, in Ephesos, Midjleyya in Syria.⁶ Their lay-out, including barrel-vaulted chambers with arcosolia and graves in the pavement, indicates that Early Christian communities in these areas adopted the local Roman tradition of private rock-cut tombs.

Although private Early Christian tombs have not yet been discovered in Cappadocia (or may not yet have been properly identified), the use of arcosolia, burial chambers, and graves in the pavement in the Early Christian churches of this area point to a common origin. It is precisely this mode of burial which was later incorporated into the church porches, narthexes, naves, funeral chapels or parekklesia.

Burials in the Porch or Narthex

It is in church porches and narthexes that one first encounters the three modes of burial: the arcosolia, the burial chambers and the pavement graves. In the case of Cappadocia, it seems appropriate to discuss porches and narthexes together, since they are often interchangeable. Some churches in this area have no narthex and might be preceded by a porch; often the porches are reduced to the size of a small barrel-vaulted passageway. Porches are usually provided with large open archways, whereas narthexes have small door openings. Although the lay-out of the narthexes and porches can vary, their burial arrangements and functions are similar.

Two recent articles have linked the development of the narthex in Middle and Late Byzantine architecture with commemorative services for the dead. Slobodan Ćurčić has discussed the twin-domed narthex of late Balkan architecture, while Athanase Papageorgiou has discussed the Middle Byzantine narthex in the churches of Cyprus.⁷ Both articles deal, however, only with the formal architectural development of the narthex, without giving consideration to the actual burial sites and their use in the Early Christian architecture in Byzantium.

Both porch and narthex in Cappadocian churches, as elsewhere in Byzantium, had been used to house burials as far back as Early Christian times. Moreover, we can trace this development back to burial

⁶ For examples of rock-cut Christian tombs in Phrygia, cf. Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia*, 1, 205-24; for the tomb in Ephesos, *Das Cömeterium der Sieben Schläfer* (Baden nr. Vienna, 1937); for the tomb in Midjleyya, H.C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts* (New York, 1903), p. 105.

⁷ S. Ćurčić, "Twin-Domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 13 (1971) 333-44; Athanase Papageorgiou, "The Narthex of the Churches of the Middle Byzantine Period in Cyprus," *Rayonnement Grec: Hommage a Charles Delvoye* (Brussels, 1982), 437-48.

arrangements in the porches of Roman rock-cut tombs. In fact, it is in Roman rock-cut tombs, such as that in Gerdek Kaya in Phrygia, that we can find close parallels for the arcosolia in the side walls of the porches and narthexes of Early Cappadocian churches⁸ (fig. 1).

The chapel 2a in Avcilar has been called a mortuary chapel because of the large number of graves set into the pavement of its narthex and nave⁹ (fig. 2). The porch adjoins the north wall of this single-nave church and can be entered through a large horseshoe-shaped arch. Two large arcosolia are carved into the side walls of the rectangular porch (fig. 3). Certain architectural features of this church provide us with evidence for its dating. The molding of its exterior arch and the design of the interior doorframe of the narthex are very similar to the doorframe of the Durmuş Kadir basilica, which is located 500m. west of the same village. Nicole Thierry attributes the Durmuş Kadir basilica to about the sixth century, and we may assume the mortuary chapel in Avcilar to be of the same period.¹⁰ Although the two arcosolia in the porch of the chapel in Avcilar are left with out any trace of molding, their large size, proportions and the rectangular shape of the graves are also very similar to the ones found in the narthex of the Durmuş Kadir basilica. This type of vast rectangular grave, carefully narrowed at the bottom, can be also found in the funeral chamber of the sixth-century rock-cut monastery in Midye in Thrace, the funeral chapel of the sixth-century rock-cut monastery in Vize, located in the same province, as well as in the Early Christian cemetery of Saint Onouphrios in Modona, in Greece.¹¹ Such an arrangement of arcosolia in the side walls of the porch, with graves in its pavement, was very common in early Christian churches.

The Durmuş Kadir basilica has a rather complex arrangement of tombs in its barrel-vaulted narthex¹² (fig. 4 and 5). The burials comprise several arcosolia, a podium and a burial chamber. One arcosolium

⁸ For the Roman tomb in Gerdek Kaya, cf. Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia*, 2, figs. 85-88, and fig. 547; 1, 192.

⁹ This church has not been published. It is mentioned in the list of churches in the area of Avcilar, *Arts of Cappadocia* (cf. note 2), p. 202.

¹⁰ N Thierry, *Monuments inédites ou peu connus de Göreme et Mavrucan. Notions de centres ruraux et monastiques en Cappadoce rupestre, thèse du III^e cycle, dactylographiée* (Paris, 1968) 13; Thierry, "Une problème," pp. 10-11, fig. 5; *eadem*, "Quelques monuments inédits ou mal connus de Cappadoce. Centres de Macan, Çavusin et Mavrucan," *L'information d'histoire de l'art*, Jan.-Fev. (1969), 10-11, and fig. 5; Cuneo, "The Architecture," pp. 94-95, and fig. 49.

¹¹ Semavi Eyice, "Trakya'da Byzans devrine ait eserler," *Türk Tarih Kurumu. Belleten*, 33 (1969) 30-31, fig. 17; Semavi Eyice et Nicole Thierry, "Le monastère et la source de Midye en Thrace Turquie," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 20 (1970), figs. 1, 21 and 22; D. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce. Découvertes de 1959 à 1973* (Rome, 1977), fig. 133.

¹² See note 10.

is cut into the center of the western wall. Another occupies the center of its south wall, and next to it there is a small arcosolium (65cm. long) made for an infant. In front of these two latter arcosolia, near the south wall, is a large podium about one meter high; in fact the arcosolia can only be reached by means of this podium. The podium itself contains three graves, one of which is small and was probably made for a child. The podium also provided access to a barrel-vaulted burial chamber located in the western wall, in front of the podium. This tunnel-like chamber, derived ultimately from Roman tomb structures, contains three graves in its pavement, plus an arcosolium with two graves in it, built into its north wall. Significantly the three-step cornice of the narthex runs continuously along the interior wall of this little chamber. This indicates that the burial chamber as well as the podium are contemporary with the construction of the narthex. This complexity in the planning of the burials in the narthex was made possibly by the technique of rock-cutting, which made it relatively easy to carve out various types of tombs.

Although the poor condition of the burial sites in other early churches in this region forces us to limit our discussion to these two examples, the arrangements of these burials is not accidental, or merely local, as parallels can be found in the narthexes of churches of the same period in other regions of the Empire. Excavations have uncovered a number of masonry-built graves in the narthex of a fifth-century basilica at Stobi, and in other early churches of the Balkan peninsula.¹³ A group of tombs is found in the narthex of a chapel of the sixth century in the rock-cut monastery at Vize in Thrace.¹⁴ There is a rock-cut chamber attached to the narthex in the sixth-century rock-cut monastery at Midye in Thrace.¹⁵ Burials are also recorded in several narthexes in Early Christian churches of Greece.¹⁶ Although we do not have complete excavation records, it seems likely that burial in the narthex was a common practice in Early Christian times in other Byzantine provinces as well. The Middle Byzantine churches of Cappadocia merely continue this venerable tradition.

Although several churches in Cappadocia have been assigned to the seventh and eighth centuries by Nicole Thierry, we still do not have sufficient evidence to date them precisely.¹⁷ Churches from the ninth

¹³ H.F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia* (London-New York, 1963), 167, and figs. 44, 71, 77.

¹⁴ Eyice, "Trakya," fig. 17c.

¹⁵ Eyice et Thierry, "Le Monastère," figs. 1, 21 and 22.

¹⁶ For an example in the cemetery basilica in Corinth, cf. Pallas, "Les monuments," p. 160 and fig. 110.

¹⁷ See N. Thierry's recent article and her bibliography on iconoclast churches in

century on can be more securely dated. These churches reveal that the early modes of burial survived and that tombs continued to be placed in both porch and narthex.

Arcosolia frequently appear in the side walls of Middle Byzantine porches and narthexes, as had been the case in the Early Christian period. Chapel 4 in Zilve is an interesting example. This church can be dated to about the sixth century, but an arcosolium in the south wall of its small tunnel-like porch was added in the early tenth century.¹⁸ Fortunately, a square tympanum above the arcosolium arch is preserved (fig. 6). This tympanum has remains of a plaster decoration belonging with the painting of the porch. Guillaume de Jerphanion associated this painting with that in Kiliçlar Kilise in Göreme (c. 900) on the basis of its iconography.¹⁹ Since there are traces of an inscription above the arcosolium, we can assume that the arcosolium was added to the south wall shortly before the porch was painted. Carving an arcosolium into thickness of the side wall of a porch or a narthex is a practical expedient, since it occupies little space, and leaves the small porch or narthex fully accessible. Similar arcosolia can be seen in the small domed porch of the church of Saint Barbara (1006) and in the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in Göreme, and in many others.²⁰ A narthex could accommodate more arcosolia than could a porch. In the eleventh-century Chapel 21, in Göreme, arcosolia are found in both the western and eastern walls.²¹ Arcosolia can also be found in the walls of the narthexes in a number of other eleventh-century churches, such as Chapels 18, 21, 21a, 21c, 27, in Göreme and others.²²

During the Middle Byzantine period the narthex could be provided

Cappadocia, "L'iconoclisme en Cappadoce d'après les sources archéologiques. Origines et modalités." *Rayonnement Grec* (note 7), 389-403; cf. Restle, "Kappadokien," (note 2), 1077-1079.

¹⁸ In my opinion this church can be dated around the sixth century. The apse of the south nave of this church has three blind niches with carved crosses similar to the apse of the sixth-century church of the rock-cut monastery at Vize in Thrace. This apse design is not found among the Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia. For an illustration of Chapel 4 see, *Arts of Cappadocia* (note 2), fig. 37; for the church at Vize, Eyice, "Trakya," fig. 10. Nicole Thierry attributed this church to the Iconoclast period on the basis of its decoration of crosses, "Monuments de Cappadoce de l'antiquité romaine au moyen âge byzantin," *Le aree omogenee della civiltà rupestre nell'ambito dell'impero bizantino: la Cappadocia*, (Rome, 1981), pp. 58-59, fig. 7. The same attribution was made by Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, 2, p. 412.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1, 586-88.

²⁰ Marcell Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor* (Recklinghausen, 1967), 3, pl. 46. Unfortunately, the porch of Yılanlı Kilise in Göreme has not been included in the published plan.

²¹ *Arts of Cappadocia* (note 2), 79 and fig. 28.

²² *Ibid.*, 79, and fig. 28; Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, Plates 1: 27-28, 2: 21; Restle, *Wall Painting*, 1, p. 127.

also with burial chambers. An early example of such a chamber is found in the ninth-century church of Saints Joachim and Anna in Kizil Çikur²³ (fig. 7). The narthex of this double-nave church has a small burial chamber attached to its western wall. The chamber can be entered through a little doorway, and evidently belongs to the original design of the church, since the doorway is incorporated into the ninth-century fresco decoration of the narthex. This chamber is very small in size, just large enough for two pavement graves.

Burial chambers, like *arcosolia*, can be found in different areas of the porch or narthex. In the underground chapel of the early tenth-century Old Tokalı Kilise in Göreme, a little square chamber is attached to the south wall of the porch²⁴ (fig. 8). In the eleventh-century churches of Tokalı Kilise in Soğanlı and Purenli Seki Kilise in Irhala, the chambers are located behind the south wall of their narthexes.²⁵ These chambers are all placed on the same level as the floor of the narthex.

There is still another type, also derived from Roman tombs: a barrel-vaulted, tunnel-like chamber, which is elevated sometimes as much as a meter above the floor level. These chambers are very similar to the ones we observed in the narthex of the early Durmuş Kilise. Examples of these can be found in churches of the eleventh-century, such as Karanlık Kilise in Göreme, of Tokalı Kilise in Soğanlı, and others.²⁶ Both types of chambers, with minor variations, were carried over into the Middle Byzantine narthex from Early Christian models.

The Middle Byzantine narthex is distinguished from the early examples by the striking density of its graves, which gives the entire narthex the appearance of a graveyard. Graves cut into the pavement of tenth- or eleventh-century churches are different in shape from earlier ones. Unlike the spacious rectangular graves characteristic of the early period, Middle Byzantine graves are rather small, and too narrow to allow the insertion of a coffin. The heads were often directed toward the entrance to the church, since Cappadocian narthexes are not always situated to the west of the nave.

²³ I agree with Ann Wharton Epstein's attribution of this church to the end of the ninth century, "The 'Iconoclast' Churches of Cappadocia," *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham, 1977), p. 103. For bibliography on this church cf. her note 6.

²⁴ On the dating of the underground chapel in the Old Tokalı, see Annabel Wharton Epstein, *The Date and Context of Some Cappadocian Rock-cut Churches* (A Dissertation. The University of London, 1975), pp. 60-61; The measurements for the plan of the underground chapel in the Old Tokalı have been taken by Ann Wharton Epstein and Natalia B. Teteriatnikov.

²⁵ Restle, *Wall Painting*, 3, pl. 54.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2, pl. 22. The plan of Tokalı Kilise in Soğanlı is not published.

A good example of such a "graveyard" in a narthex is the late eleventh-century church of Saint Daniel in Göreme²⁷ (fig. 9). The narthex of this small, barrel-vaulted, single-nave church lies along the north side of the church. Nine graves are found in the narthex: three in arcosolia in the west, north and south walls, and six others cut into the pavement. Among them there are four small graves which were probably reserved for children. The shape of all these graves is typical of the eleventh-century. Their orientation differs—some face the east, others the entrance to the church—in order that more graves could be fitted in. Other than these characteristic features, there is little which allows us to date their time of execution. Some additional information can be gleaned from the paintings and inscriptions surviving in the nave. On the south wall of the nave there is an image of a woman, Eudocia, between two large fresco icons of Saint Basil and Saint Daniel. The epitaph inscribed alongside her likeness reads, "The servant of God, Eudocia, has fallen asleep . . ."²⁸ This portrait of Eudocia, incorporated into the church decoration, suggests that she was a donor; her grave was possibly located in the narthex as there are no graves in the church nave. The presence of the graves of the four children may indicate that an entire family was buried here. Moreover, Jerphanion recorded eight invocations inscribed near the votive icons; among them he identified one priest.²⁹ At any rate, the graves can be dated to the time of the carving of the church, i.e. the eleventh century. similar "graveyard"-narthexes can be found in a number of other churches, such as the tenth-century church of Saint Eustathios and the eleventh-century Chapels 18, 21, 21a-21c and 27, in Göreme, or the tenth-century church of Saint Symeon in Zilve.³⁰ The collapsed narthex of the Pigeon House in Çavusin (963-69) preserves traces of a similar "graveyard"-narthex.³¹

The use of the narthex for burials in Middle Byzantine Cappadocian churches is paralleled in Constantinople, Greece, the Balkans, and Russia. Cappadocian narthexes are distinguished by the greater density and variety of their burials.

Burials in the Nave

Burials in the nave are less widespread than burials in the narthex

²⁷ Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province*, 2, pp. 171-76, and Plates 2, fig. 39; For the dating of this church, see Ann Wharton Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels in Göreme Valley, Cappadocia: The Yılanlı Group and the Column Churches," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 24 (1975) 115-21, esp. 117, and fig. 43.

²⁸ Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, pp. 173-74.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 174-76.

³⁰ *Arts of Cappadocia* (note 2), 79 and fig. 27-28.

³¹ Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, Plates 2, fig. 139: 3.

or in the annexed funerary chapels, but individual graves do occur in the nave, in arcosolia and in the pavement itself. One of the early examples of the former is found in the north wall of Chapel 6 in Zilve. This is a small single-nave chapel with a flat ceiling decorated with a huge carved cross. Thierry attributed it to the Iconoclast period, but the groove-like molding that frames the arcosolium, the apse and the prothesis niche is commonly found in fifth and sixth-century monuments of Asia Minor.³² No molding of this type can be found in Middle Byzantine Cappadocian churches. Hence this arcosolium must belong to the original church.

Arcosolia can be easily adapted to a variety of church plans. For example, in the inscribed-cross plan of Chapel 1 in Balkan Dere, arcosolia are found on both sides of the western arm of the cross (fig. 10). This church has been attributed to the pre-Iconoclast period.³³ The tooth-like molding of the cornice of this chapel resembles one in a sixth-century domed hall 50m. west of the church.³⁴ Thus this chapel and the domed hall may have been constructed at about the same time. The arcosolia seem to belong to the original design of this chapel, placed as they are symmetrically on either side of the western arm of this church. Unfortunately, no trace remains here of the original decoration, such as survives in the eastern arm of the cross and in the dome, but when Jerphanion visited this church in the first decade of this century, he noted the existence of painting on all the walls of the church. He pointed out that this mortuary chapel was decorated with scenes of the burial of Saint Basil and of the martyrdom of Saint Peter, among others.³⁵ These burial subjects were probably chosen to commemorate the tombs in the church nave.

The use of arcosolia in the side walls of the nave was common in the Early Christian churches of Byzantium and the Christian East. An Armenian chapel, Aghtz, has large arcosolia, occupying the entire

³² Nicole Thierry attributed this church to the Iconoclast period on the basis of carved crosses on its walls and ceiling, "L'iconoclisme," p. 398 and fig. 6. for the type of groove-like molding cf. Haspels, *The Highlands*, 2, fig. 338. A similar molding is found in the sixth-century domed hall in Balkan Dere in Cappadocia.

³³ Nicole Thierry, "Peintures paléochrétiennes en Cappadoce. L'église n° 1 de Balkan Dere," *Synhronon* (Paris, 1968) 2, 53-59. The same attribution is made by Spiro Kostof, *Caves of God* (Cambridge and London, 1972), p. 262, n. 1. Ann Wharton Epstein dated it to the end of the ninth century, "Iconoclastic Churches," pp. 103-11. For a similar attribution cf. Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, 2, pp. 50-56.

³⁴ *Arts of Cappadocia* (note 2), 199 and pl. 73. This building has not yet been studied. However, its cornice, which is decorated with palms and crosses, is very similar to that in the sixth-century Akk Kilise in Sogānli. For Akk Kilise cf. Marcell Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (Vienna, 1979), 24-25, 171, with bibliography on this church.

³⁵ Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, 2, pp. 50-56.

north and south walls.³⁶ Similarly, there are arcosolia in the side wall of the sixth-century chapel at Midye and in the rock-cut chapel in Vize, both in Thrace.³⁷

Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia continued to use arcosolia in their naves for burials. The early tenth-century chapel excavated under Old Tokali Kilise is an interesting example of this tradition³⁸ (fig. 11). This small basilica-type chapel has three independent sanctuaries linked by a narrow transverse corridor. In the north wall of this chapel are symmetrically carved two deep arcosolia, similar to those in Chapel 1 in Balkan Dere. The carefully planned arcosolia on this side wall suggest that this church was originally designed as the funerary chapel of Old Tokalı. Whether planned along with the core of the church, or added later, arcosolia appear in a number of chapels in this area, for example Chapel 18, in Göreme, Çanavar and Karabas Kilise in Soğanlı, and Eski Gümüs in Niğde, all of the eleventh century, and Saint George in Belisirama of the thirteenth century.³⁹

Burial chambers are also attached to the naves of some churches, although this is a far less frequent solution than the building of arcosolia or the placing of graves in the pavement. While we have no early examples of burial chambers attached to the naves of Cappadocian churches, it is obvious that those in the Middle Byzantine period are based on the existence of an earlier tradition. Funerary chambers attached to the nave were widespread in the Early Christian church architecture of the West, of Greece, Asia Minor and Syria.⁴⁰ The Middle Byzantine churches of Cappadocia have chambers as do the early churches, attached to various parts of the nave wall. In the eleventh-century chapel of Kiliçlar Küslük, in Göreme, a subsidiary funeral chamber is located behind its western wall.⁴¹ In the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in Göreme and in the ninth-century Chapel 2 in Maçan, chambers were attached to the south walls.⁴²

³⁶ N.M. Tokarskii, *Po stranitzam istorii armnianskoi arkhitekturi* (Erevan, 1973), p. 59 and fig. 7.

³⁷ Eyice, "Trakya", fig. 10.

³⁸ For the dating of this chapel cf. note 24 above.

³⁹ *Arts of Cappadocia*, (note 2), 79, and fig. 28; Restle, *Wall Painting*, 3, pls. 58: 465, and 60: 1, 180.

⁴⁰ For example S. Clemente in Rome, R. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicorum Christianorum Romae* 1 (Rome, 1937), fig. 18; the cathedral in Brâd in Syria, Jean Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* (Paris, 1947), p. 169, and fig. 77; the monastery church near Karabel in Lycia, R.M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia," *Anatolian Studies*, 13 (1963), fig. 11.

⁴¹ Restle, *Wall Painting*, 2, 280 and pl. xxv.

⁴² For the plan of Yılanlı Kilise, cf. Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels," fig. 43. Chapel 2 in Avcılar (Maçan) has not been published.

On the whole, when burials were made in the church nave, *arcosolia* were the preferred solution. A small group of churches show some individual graves in the pavements and in subsidiary chambers. It is striking, however, that it is the little chapels and *parekklesia* linked to the nave which were to become the most popular burial sites in the Middle Byzantine period in Cappadocia.

Funeral Chapels and Parekklesia

Small subsidiary chapels and *parekklesia* were often annexed to the naves of churches in this area. Although both of these could be used for various liturgical ceremonies, a large number of them were used for burials. A subsidiary chapel differs from a *parekklesion* in size, shape and relation to the nave of the church. Funerary chapels may vary in size but are generally rather small. Attached to the north, south or western walls of the church, they are accessible from the nave through little doorways. By contrast, *parekklesia* are usually of a standard shape and size; they are predominantly rectangular, elongated chapels, and may be found connecting the north or south walls of the nave. They are usually separated from the nave by several archways. Both chapel types are provided with apses, liturgical furnishings and altar screens for liturgical services. Since both chapel types housed burials, we will place them within the same category.

Gordana Babić, in her book on subsidiary chapels in early and Middle Byzantine architecture, noted those which contain graves or relics of martyrs, local saints or laymen.⁴³ Middle Byzantine churches in Cappadocia, it would seem, reflect the wide-spread Byzantine preference for subsidiary mortuary chapels. Their use and architectural arrangements are no doubt derived from Early Christian architectural traditions. Thus a small mortuary chapel can be attached to the north, south or western walls of the nave, as was often the case in the early Byzantine church architecture. For example, in the eleventh-century Eski Gümüş in Niğde, there is a tiny chapel flanking the nave at the eastern end of its north wall⁴⁴ (fig. 12). A large grave, almost the size of its floor, suggests that this chapel was specifically constructed to house the grave. Moreover, the chapel is completely dark: it has no windows and can be entered only through a small doorway. Another type of layout can be seen in the eleventh-century Yılanlı Kilise in the İrhalı valley.⁴⁵ Here a small, narrow chapel is attached to the western part

⁴³ Gordana Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines; fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969).

⁴⁴ Restle, *Wall Paintings I*, p. 180.

⁴⁵ Michel et Nicole Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce: région du Hasan*

of the north wall; there are several tombs in the pavement. In the eleventh-century Kokar Kilise in the same valley two mortuary chapels are linked to the western wall of the church in such a way that the apses of these chapels are not directed toward the east, but, atypically, face south.⁴⁶ A variety of mortuary chapel plans can be found among the churches of this region.

The parekklesion is another type of subsidiary chapel which can be used for burials. An elongated rectangular chapel flanking the church nave is well known from such Constantinopolitan examples as the parekklesion in the New Tokalı is joined to the north wall of the transverse nave of the church, separated from the nave by a screen of horse-shoe shaped arches and a parapet (fig. 14). One of the arch openings, the third from the east, is used as an entrance to the chapel. The apse of the parekklesion, like those of the nave, is directed toward the east and is provided with an altar, seats and a low parapet screen. There are no graves in this chapel. However, as with many funeral parekklesia in the region, this chapel has no traces of painting. Also, the sixth and furthestmost arch, on the eastern end of the north wall, is filled in, not open like the others; it contains a large painting of the funeral of Saint Basil, the lower part of which is considerably damaged.⁴⁹ This picture is located directly to the right of the entrance to the chapel. We do not know the precise function of this parekklesion, but it is possible that it might have been associated with some sort of commemorative services. Although this type of parekklesion found in New Tokalı might well have taken final form during this period, it may have ultimately derived from the double- and triple-nave plan, very common in Cappadocia and elsewhere, in which one nave was used as the main church and the other was used as a burial. Examples are common in Cappadocia: the double-nave church of Saint Basilios in Sinassos (ninth century), Saint Eustathios in Göreme (tenth century) and Balık Kilise, Munhil Kilise, (tenth century) and Çanavar Kilise (eleventh century) in Soğanlı, and others.⁵⁰

Daği (Paris, 1963), 90 and fig. 20.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 115, and fig. 24.

⁴⁷ P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York, 1966) 2, pp. 269-99, and figs. 1, 11-12; C. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments: The Tomb of Manuel I Comnenus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23-24 (1969-70) 372-75.

⁴⁸ Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels," pp. 124-26 with bibliography and comments on the dating of the New Tokalı. further evidence for the mid tenth-century dating was presented in her paper "Tokalı Kilise in Cappadocia: Preface to a Reassessment," *Eight Annual Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstract of Papers, October 15-17, 1982* (Chicago, 1982), p. 29-30.

⁴⁹ Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, 1, p. 364.

⁵⁰ For other examples and a discussion of double-nave churches in Cappadocia, cf.

We do not have any securely dated early rock-cut double-nave churches in Cappadocia. Marcell Restle has, however, recorded two double-nave masonry churches in Cappadocia: Saint Andrew in Tilkoy (around the sixth century) and Çavdarlık Kilise (second half of the seventh century).⁵¹ Double-nave churches had been built in Cilicia, in Asia Minor, in Early Christian times.⁵² Thus they can be considered forerunners of the Middle Byzantine parekklesion in Cappadocia.

The parekklesion in the rock-cut Cappadocian churches had one great advantage: its open arcade, which usually separates the chapel from the nave, provides it with more light. The majority of the churches in Cappadocia have only one door, or, at most, a window in the main church: thus, all other annexed mortuary chapels remained dark, and were lit only by candles.

In observing the development of burial types and their locations throughout the churches of Cappadocia, several conclusions can be drawn. 1) Most types of burial and their location had an origin in Early Christian times. 2) The majority of graves are concentrated in porches, narthexes and the burial chambers, chapels and parekklesia. 3) The Middle Byzantine churches of this area show a great density of tombs, with particular preference for private mortuary chapels and parekklesia. These intimate compartments annexed to the church were possibly developed during this period out of the necessity for providing additional space for the celebration of the commemorative services.

BURIALS AND COMMEMORATIONS

We know little of the regulations which determined where people were to be buried within a church; Cappadocian literary sources, including church typika, have not survived. In his articles on the twin-domed narthex in late Balkan architecture, Slobodan Ćurčić has noted that commemorative services for the deceased were held in the narthex in Serbian churches of the fourteenth century.⁵³ However, this was not a new phenomenon; Athanase Papageorgiou has cited several Middle Byzantine typika for churches in Cyprus, which refer to similar customs.⁵⁴ The thirteenth-century Typikon for the monastery of Constantine Lips in Constantinople makes it clear that the Empress

Semiha Yıldız Ötügen, "Zweischiffige Kirchen in Kappadokien und in den angrenzenden Gebieten," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32-34 (1982) 543-52.

⁵¹ Ibid., 544.

⁵² Ibid, Restle, *Studien zur Frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens*, pp. 28-31.

⁵³ Ćurčić, "Twin-Domed Narthex," pp. 342-44.

⁵⁴ Papageorgiou, "Narthex," p. 447, and note 46.

Theodora planned to locate her own grave, as well as those of her family, in various spots in the narthex and nave of the church.⁵⁵ The custom of locating graves in both the narthex and nave is also recorded in literary sources and in the archeological evidence provided by Middle Byzantine Russian churches.⁵⁶ In addition, Gordana Babić has recorded the existence of burials in subsidiary chapels of both Early and Middle Byzantine churches.⁵⁷ Although each typikon had its own specifications, the burial sites in Cappadocian churches and elsewhere in Byzantine architecture suggest there was considerable choice. The presence of burials in the porches, narthexes, naves, burial chapels, chambers and parekklesia indicates that each of these compartments must have housed liturgical and commemorative services.

Several special features of certain Cappadocian grave sites suggest that the requirements of private individuals were taken into account in the church planning. An interesting example of liturgical furnishing near the grave site is found in Ayvalı Kilise in Güllü Dere (913-920).⁵⁸ A grave is located in the passageway between the two naves (fig. 15). There is a seat placed above the head of this grave and an altar niche is located over the feet. the Ascension of Elijah, symbolic of the Resurrection, is painted on the vault of this passageway.⁵⁹ This very special decorative program and the liturgical furnishings at the grave implies that some sort of commemorative services took place within this particular area. Another example can be seen in the tenth-century church of Saint Theodore near Ürgüp.⁶⁰ A large grave is carved out of the pavement of the northwest corner of the church along the north wall. At the foot of this grave is a small three-step ambo, cut cubically out of the wall. Moreover, among the various scenes of the life of Christ on the walls, two, the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, references to Christ's death and Resurrection respectively, were painted above the ambo near the grave.⁶¹ The ambo and the painted program were designed to commemorate the deceased.

BURIALS AND THEIR SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

Along with their importance for architectural history or liturgical

⁵⁵ Theodore Macridy, "The Monastery of Constantine Lips and the Burials of the Palaeologi," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964) 269-72 and fig. 5.

⁵⁶ P.A. Rapoport, *Russkaia arkhitektura X-XII vv.* (Leningrad, 1982), 7-8, 12, 14, 77.

⁵⁷ Babić *Les chapelles*.

⁵⁸ N. et M. Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise ou Pigeonner de Güllü Dere: église inédite de Cappadoce," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 15 (1965), 97-154, and fig. 1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 121-22 and fig. 16.

⁶⁰ Restle, *Wall Painting*, 3, pls. 36, p. 385; Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, 2, pp. 17-47.

⁶¹ Restle, *Wall Painting*, fig. 385.

practice the study of burials may also provide us with a better understanding of the role of monks and the laity in the church communities of Cappadocia. Art historians have traditionally focussed their attention on the primary role of monks in the churches and monasteries of this region. The contribution of donors has usually been considered simply as some sort of outside benefaction.⁶² However, observation of the graves, study of the dedicatory inscriptions, epitaphs, invocations, and painted decorations show that the graves located within the Early and Middle Byzantine churches of this area were meant for monks and the clergy as well as for laymen and their families. This evidence points to the significance of both monks and laity in the local communities.

Several churches have yielded graves of monks and the clergy. For example, the large arcosolium located in the north wall of the north church in the Ayvali Kilise in Güllü Dere belonged to a monk John.⁶³ Significantly, the molding which frames the entire arcosolium is continued as the cornice of the church, which suggests that church and arcosolium were carved out together. There is an inscription painted on the molding: "John has rendered this place holy in the year of the world 64 . . . , in the month of November on the 14th day."⁶⁴

An epitaph found on the wall of the early tenth-century church of Saint Symeon at Zilve tells us that a monk had prepared his grave during his life-time: "While I live I dig this burial cave; receive me, O tomb, as you have the Stylite."⁶⁵ The grave of the monk was probably located in the arcosolium found in the north wall of the narthex.

In the early tenth-century church of Karabaş Kilise in Soğanlı, the southernmost chapel was probably reserved for the abbot Bathystrokos and his family.⁶⁶ The portrait of an abbot and his two sons, and an epitaph are located on the eastern and northern walls of this chapel. Moreover, there are four graves in the church pavement, and a fifth one for a baby elevated above the floor level on the south wall.

In addition to the graves of monks and clergy, we encounter graves of laymen—that is to say, ktitors—and their families. The representation of three donors near the figure of Christ carrying the Cross located just above a grave near the western wall of the eleventh-century

⁶² Kostof, *Caves of God*, pp. 47-59.

⁶³ Ibid., 153-55; Von Günter Paulus Schiemenz, "Herr hilf deinem Knecht: zur Frage nimbierter Stifter in den kappadokischen Höhlenkirchen," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 71 (1976) 133-73.

⁶⁴ N. et M. Thierry, "Ayvali," pp. 100-01.

⁶⁵ Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, 1, p. 577; Kostof, *Caves of God*, p. 48.

⁶⁶ Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, 2, pp. 356-60.

Çarikli Kilise in Göreme suggests this was a lay grave⁶⁷ (fig. 16). A small picture of the ktitor Theodore is painted near a large figure of Christ in the lunette just above Theodore's grave in the funeral chamber.⁶⁸ Women and children were also frequently buried in churches. In the early tenth-century chapel of Eğri Tas in Irhala, directly over the arcosolium in the south wall of the funeral chamber is an inscription: "Here rests the servant of God Irene, who was distinguished by her perfect life; she died March 3."⁶⁹ In Belli Kilise I in Soğanlı, there are two graves in the pavement. Above, on the wall, there is an epitaph: "Here rests Felikiane and Ioannes, the mother and the son."⁷⁰

Moreover, numerous graves of different sizes, including those of small children and babies give important evidence that not only monks, but also private families were buried there. One can see tombs reserved for family burials in almost every church of this region, as, for example, in the mortuary chapel in Maçan (fig. 17).

The dedicatory inscriptions, epitaphs, invocations, and painted programs dating from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries offer us information about the social aspects of the local communities. These sources indicate a large number of laymen (64) including women (24) in addition to monks and clergy (around 40); these figures testify to the considerable importance of the laity in the local church communities.⁷¹ Their benefaction to the churches and monasteries should not be considered a simple propaganda gesture; the pious laymen and their families were no doubt closely involved with church life in this region. Thus the commonly used epitaph, "Those who read this, pray for us . . ." suggests that monks, clergy and laymen all contributed in their own way to the churches, in order to be buried there and to be commemorated after their death. All this points to the fact that laity participated in the social, spiritual and economic life of the church. Monasticism in this region gained considerable support from these local wealthy families.

Finally, the analysis of burial sites in the rock-cut churches in Cappadocia has revealed a process of evolution stretching continuously from the Early Christian into the Middle Byzantine period. Local burial traditions in Cappadocia may also shed some light on parallel developments abroad. Although the types of burial in Cappadocian churches and their location show certain similarities with their counterparts elsewhere, they

⁶⁷ Restle, *Wall Painting*, 2, pl. 21, pp. 194, 217.

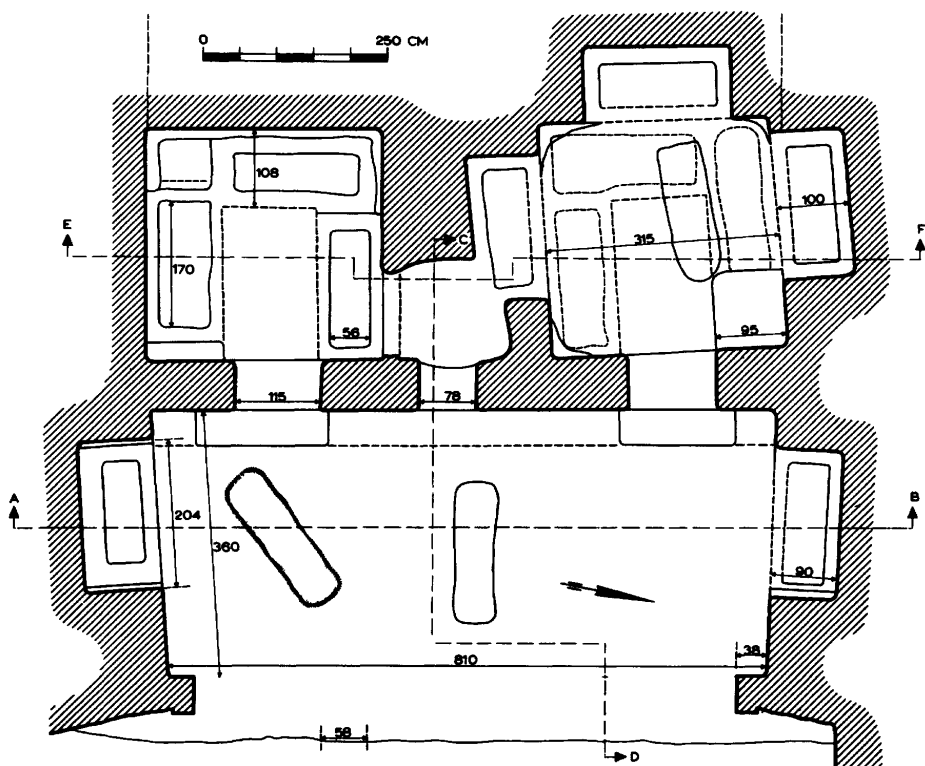
⁶⁸ Ibid., 2, 245; Epstein, *Rock-cut Chapels*, fig. 43.

⁶⁹ Michel et Nicole Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, p. 69, and inscription 6.

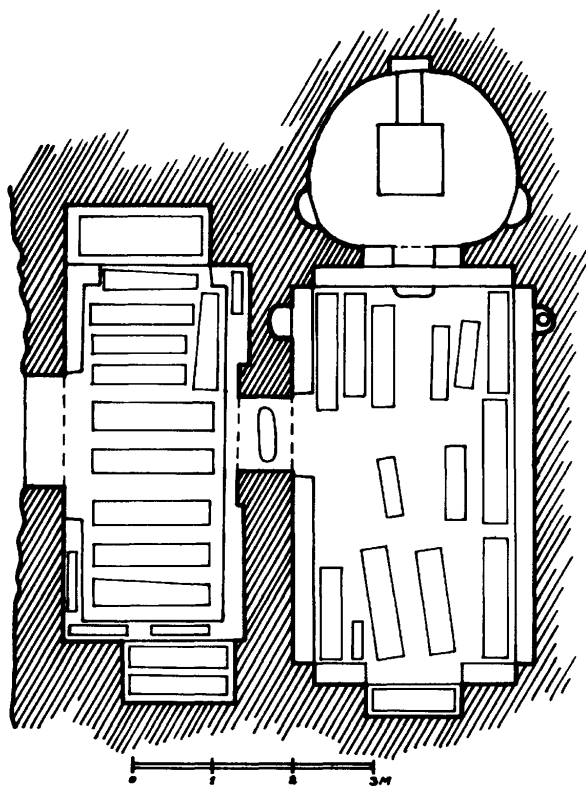
⁷⁰ Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, 2, p. 295.

⁷¹ This information is examined in my forthcoming dissertation *The Origin and Development of Cappadocian Church Planning: Liturgy and Function*.

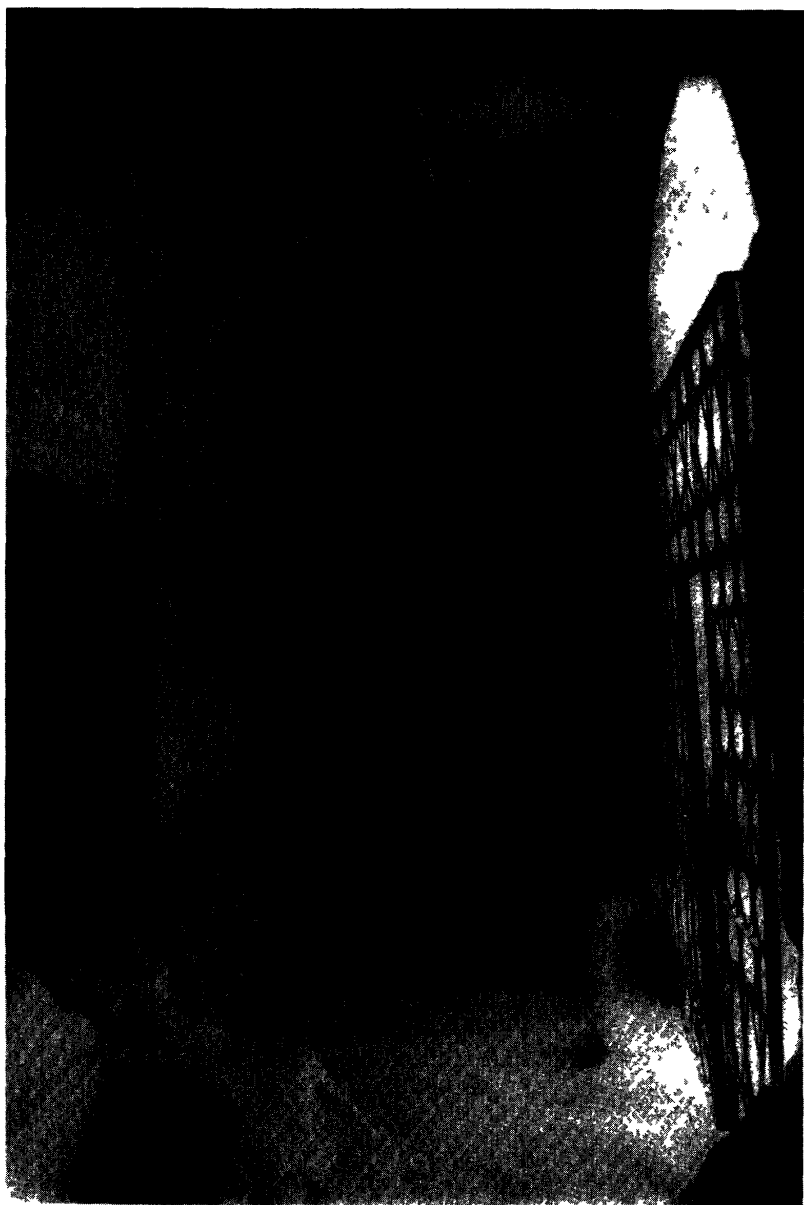
are distinguished by their density and the variety of arrangements within the church plans. The diversity of burial sites is no doubt due to the local rock-cut technique which made it relatively easy to carve out tombs. At the same time, the popularity of funerary chapels, chambers or parekklesia attests to the growing liturgical importance of these burial sites. Both these tendencies contributed to the enrichment of Middle Byzantine church architecture.



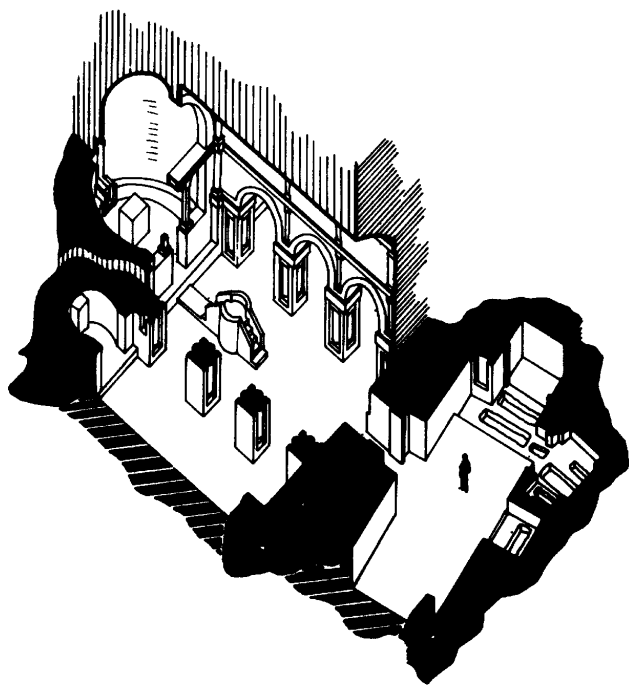
1. Gerdek Kaya, Phrygia, Roman tomb. Plan (reproduced from C. H. E. Haspels).



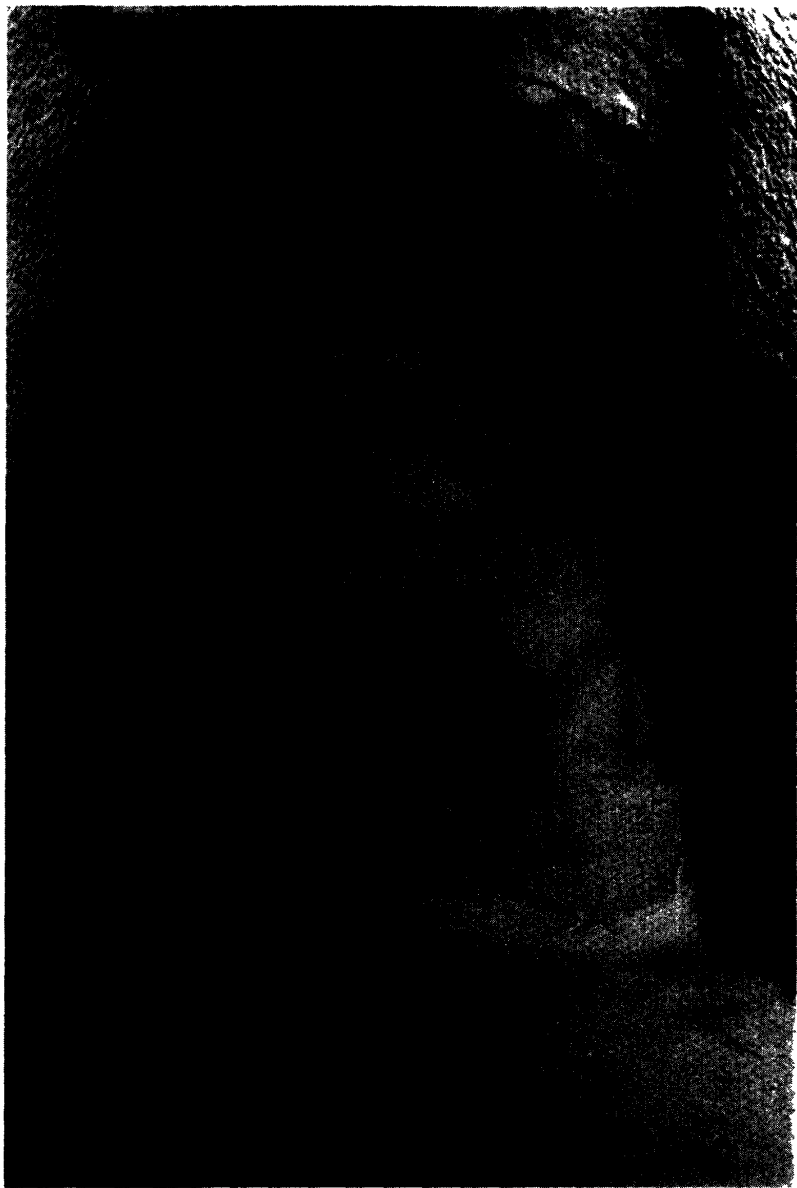
2. Avcılar, Chapel 2a. Sketch plan.



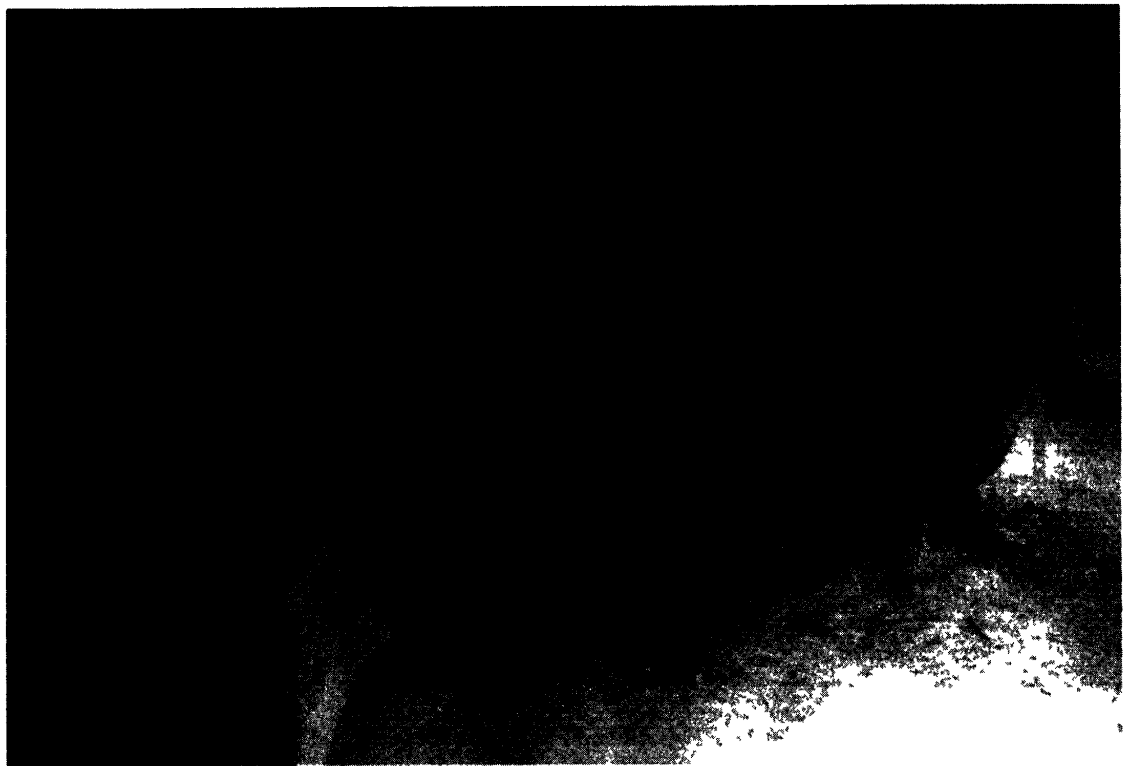
3. Avcilar, Chapel 2a. Interior of the porch facing south. Photo N. Teteriatnikov.



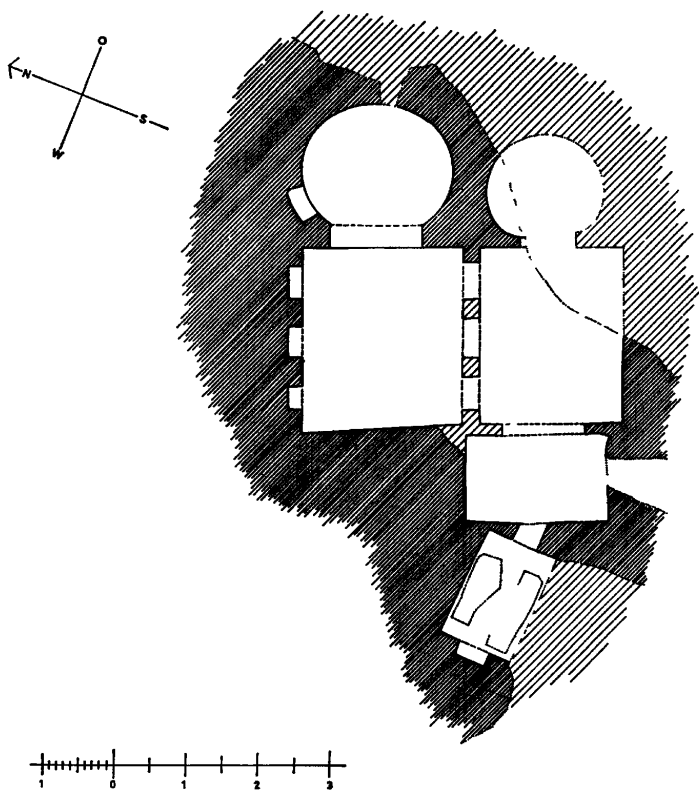
4. Avcılar, Durmuş Kadir Kilise. Axonometric section, from above (reproduced from P. Cuneo).



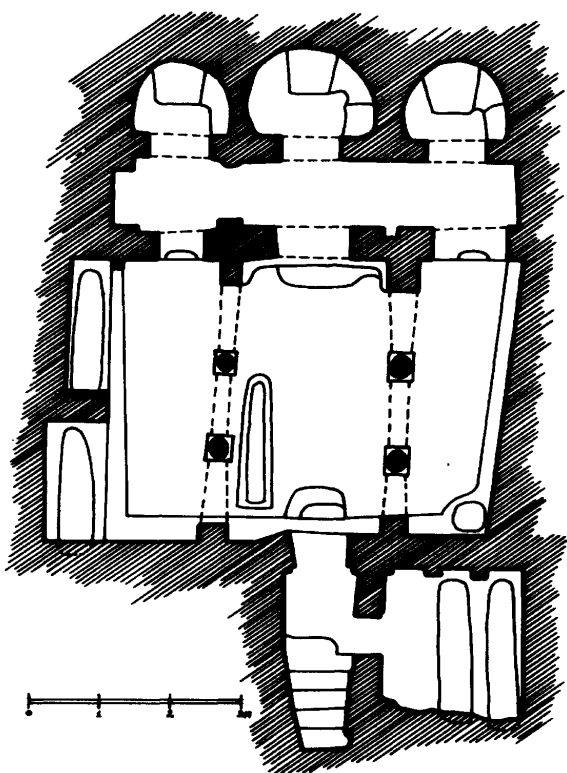
5. Avcılar, Durmuş Kadir Kilise. Interior of the narthex facing south.
Photo N. Teteriatnikov.



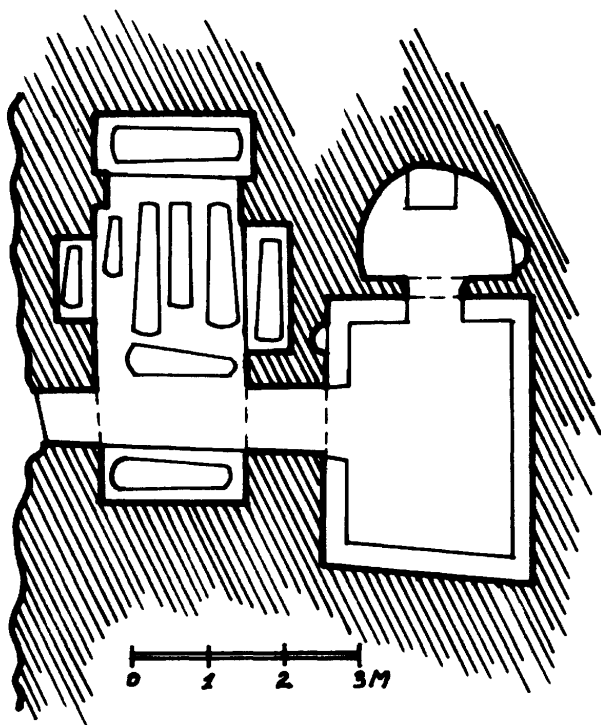
6. Zilve, Chapel 4. Arcosolium in the south wall of the porch. Photo N. Teteriatnikov.



7. Kızıl Çukur, Chapel of Joachim and Anna. Plan (reproduced from M. Restle).



8. Göreme, Underground chapel of Old Tokalı
Kilise. Sketch plan.



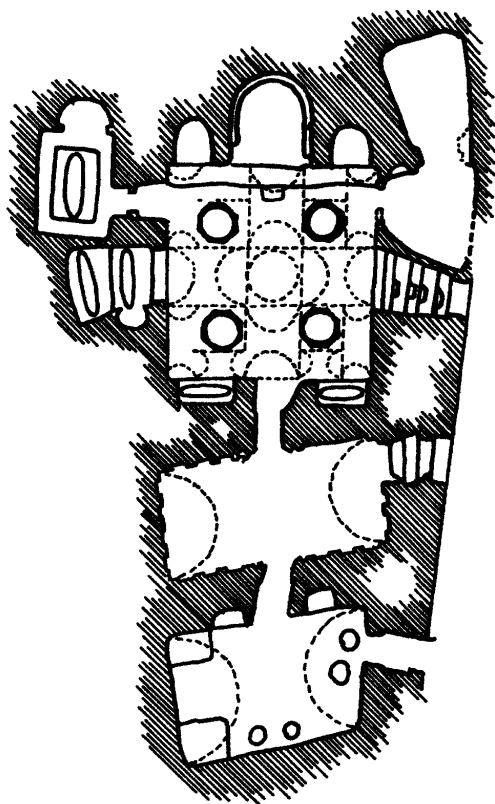
9. Göreme, Chapel of Saint Daniel. Sketch plan.



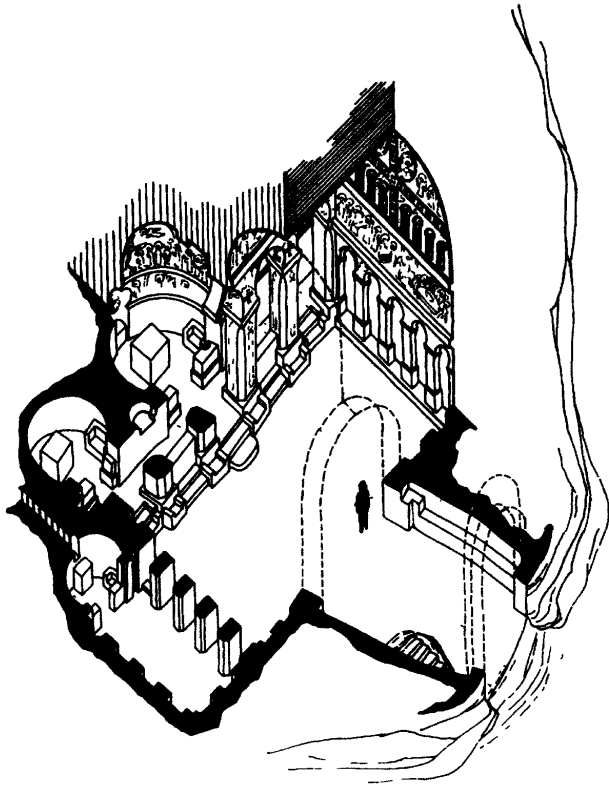
10. Balkan Dere, Chapel 1. Arcosolia in the south wall of the western arm of the church. Photo N. Teteriatnikov.



11. Goreme, Underground chapel of Old Tokalı Kilise. Interior facing north. Photo N. Teteriatnikov.



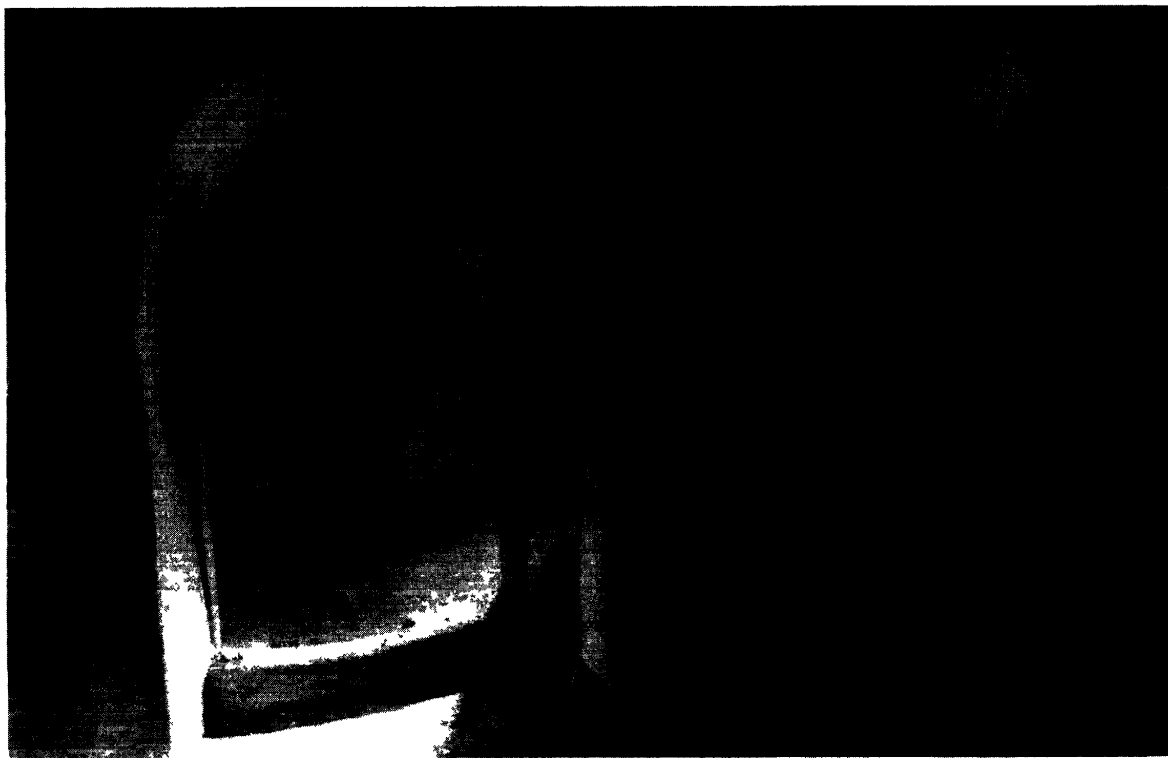
12. Niğde, Eski Gümüş. Plan (reproduced from M. Restle).



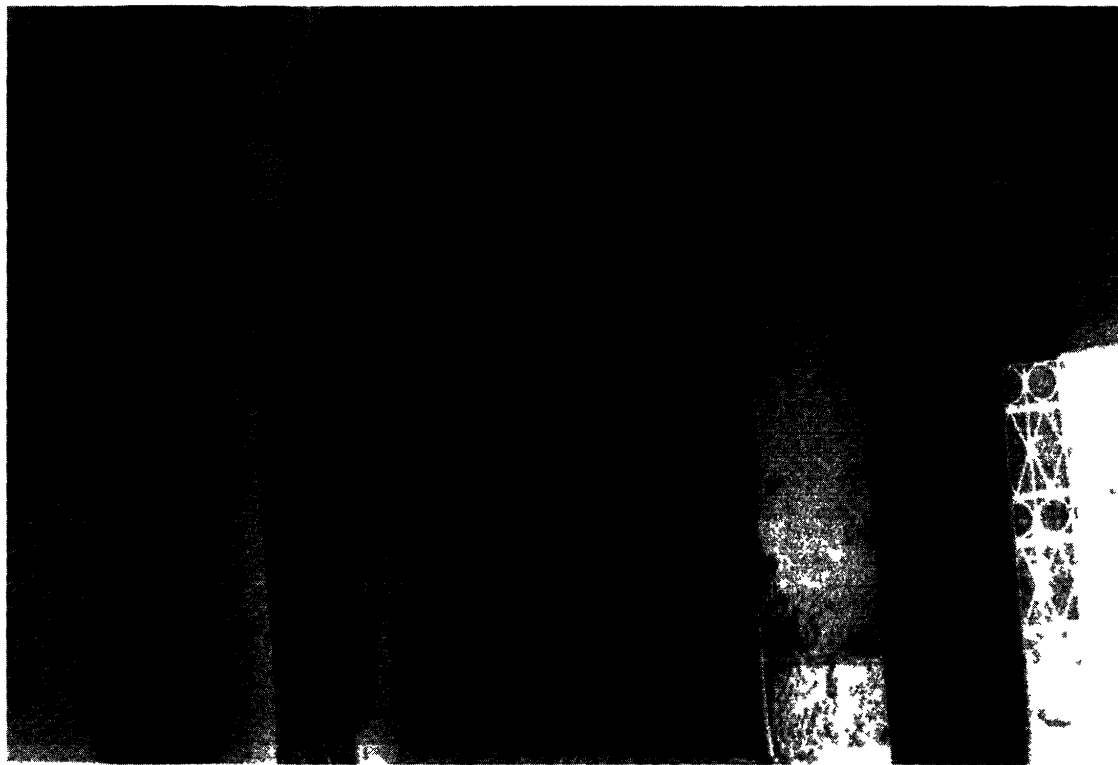
13. Göreme, Tokalı Kilise. Axonometric section, from above (reproduced from P. Cuneo).



14. Göreme, New Tokalı Kilise. Interior facing north. Photo N. Teteriatnikov.



15. Gülu Dere, Ayvalı Kilise. View of the grave in the passageway between two naves. Photo N. Teteriatnikov.



16. Goreme, Çarıklı Kilise. Interior facing west. Photo N. Teteriatnikov.



17. Avcilar, Chapel 2a. Interior facing west. Photo N. Teteriatnikov.

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CEMETERY CHURCHES OF THE EARLY BYZANTINE PERIOD IN EASTERN ILLYRICUM: LOCATION AND MARTYRS

Carolyn S. Snively

THIS PAPER FORMS a part of a study of cemetery churches of the fourth to seventh centuries in the prefecture of Eastern Illyricum.¹ These churches are being considered as a group on the basis of a common function, even though definitions of a "cemetery church" might vary widely, and an attempt to list the activities carried out in them might provoke debate. The main criterion for membership in the group of churches is the association with the church of at least five graves of approximately the same date as the building. Most of the churches lie outside the Late Roman fortification walls of the cities they served, in or near Late Roman cemeteries, and several churches were constructed above pagan necropoleis of the Roman period. Their architecture differs little from the usual ecclesiastical forms of the period and region; a three-aisled basilica of modest dimensions is the most common type. The only visible difference, excluding the tombs, of course, between churches in cemeteries and churches elsewhere lies in the greater number of attached annexes interpreted as funerary chapels or chambers. These churches were arranged and furnished for the celebration of the liturgy; the presbyterium included an altar located above a reliquary.

This group of churches includes, e.g., the Extra Muros Basilica at Philippi, Basilica Delta at Nea Anchialos, Basilica Beta at Demetrias, the Ilissos Basilica in Athens, and the Kraneion and Kodratos basilicas

¹ This paper in a slightly different form and illustrated with slides was presented in the session on Death and Burial in Byzantium, chaired by Nancy Ševčenko at the Ninth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference at Duke University in November 1983. The paper is printed here without illustrations by the decision of the author. I wish to thank Nancy Ševčenko both for her careful organization of the session, and for her concern that the papers presented in that session be published. My thanks go also to James R. Wiseman who read a draft of the paper, suggested useful bibliography, and gave freely of his knowledge of Corinthian monuments and topography.

at Corinth. Other examples not so well-known or more recently excavated include the Cemetery Basilica at Stobi, the Extra Muros Basilica on Third September Street in Thessalonike, the cemetery churches at Knossos on Crete, and the small basilica on Temple Hill in Corinth.² A difficulty in the identification of cemetery churches lies in the fact that early excavators had little interest in simple burials and unpretentious tombs and frequently omitted information on those features from their reports.

Two factors have hindered the recognition of the cemetery churches as a functional group. Slavic burials were frequently dug into the ruins of early Byzantine churches. Whether this activity indicates continued awareness of a holy place is not a question to be considered here. The presence of those graves, some of them even dug down below the floor level of the church, in both intramural and extramural churches, led to considerable confusion concerning the chronological and cultural relationships of church and graves. Greater knowledge of Slavic artifacts and burial practices has mitigated this problem. The site of Sveti Erazmo near Lake Ohrid in Yugoslav Macedonia provides an example of a recently excavated early Byzantine church with Slavic burials; most of the graves were found in the debris of the basilica or on its floor, but a few had been cut through the mosaic pavement of the church.³

The second factor is the occasional discovery of isolated tombs in churches without other funerary connections. Such tombs tend to be more elaborate than the usual tile grave or stone cist, and their occupants can sometimes be identified as church officials through inscriptions; these tombs therefore receive more attention in the literature. I. Nikolajević has pointed out that such tombs were frequently placed

² Brief descriptions and bibliography for most of the churches mentioned can be found in D. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1959 à 1973* (Vatican City, 1977). For the Ilissos Basilica, see G. Sotiriou in *Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς* (1919) 8-14, and M. Chatzidakis in *Πρακτικά* (1948) 69-80, and in *Cahiers Archéologiques* 5 (1951) 61-74. For the Cemetery Basilica at Stobi, with references to earlier bibliography, see J. Wiseman, *Stobi: a Guide to the Excavations* (Belgrade, 1973) 81-82, and the author's unpublished dissertation, *Early Christian Basilicas at Stobi: a Study of Form, Function, and Location* (University of Texas at Austin, 1979) 182-216. For the Extra Muros Basilica of Thessalonike, see the three articles on the martyrion and the tombs, the reliquary, and the coins, by Eu. Marke-Aggelkou, E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, and D. Eugenidou respectively in the *Chronika* of *Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς* (1981) 53-85; the publication of the church itself by D. Makropoulou will appear in *Μακεδονικά*. Preliminary reports of Professor H. Robinson's excavations of the basilica on Temple Hill may be found in *Archaeological Reports* (1972-73) pp. 10-11; (1974-75) 8; (1975-76) 8, and in *Hesperia* 45 (1976) 221-23.

³ V. Malenko, "Nouvelles découvertes dans le localité Sv. Erazmo," *Archaeologia Jugoslavica* 15 (1974) pp. 45-51. Other examples of early Byzantine churches with later burials include the basilica at Demir Kapija and the North Basilica at Stobi; for the former, see B. Aleksova, *Prosek-Demir Kapija* (Skopje-Belgrade, 1966); for the latter, Wiseman 1973, 26-8, and Snively 1979, 20-47.

in the narthex, e.g., in the church at Lin near Lake Ohrid in Albania;⁴ they appeared in other parts of the church as well, e.g., the solidly constructed tomb excavated in 1977 in the east end of the south aisle of the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi.⁵

Two separate questions about cemetery churches in Eastern Illyricum are raised in this paper, one concerning location and the second concerning the identification of tombs of martyrs associated with the churches. Although no definite answers are provided, the questions are of sufficient importance for our understanding of early Christian burial that discussion at this stage of research seems warranted.

The first issue is that of location. Most cemetery churches lay outside the boundaries of the settlements they served; both Roman law and practical considerations dictated the placement of cemeteries outside urban areas. The Christians gradually segregated their burials and developed cemeteries or concentrations of Christian graves in the common necropoleis. Thus, when, in the late fourth or in the fifth century after Christ, churches began to be constructed in the Christian cemeteries, those churches were located outside the walls of the settlements.

The site of Ancient Corinth includes Byzantine monuments as well as earlier ones. A plan published by T. Gregory in the 1979 *Hesperia* showed several early Byzantine churches located near the Late Roman city of Corinth.⁶ The ones of concern here, the excavated cemetery churches, are the Kenchreian Gate or Kraneion Basilica and the Kritika or Kodratos Basilica. The Kraneion Basilica is situated east of the city, a few hundred meters outside the Late Roman city wall, along the road to Kenchreai. Excavated briefly by the American School of Classical Studies in 1928,⁷ it has been more thoroughly investigated in recent years by D. Pallas. The building is a large three-aisled basilica, over 60 m. in length with apse and narthex, and the structure extended further to the west beyond the narthex. A baptistery complex stood at the northwest corner, and chambers containing tombs were attached to the south aisle, to the eastern third of the north aisle, and to the eastern end of both aisles. The basilica was located in an area used as a cemetery from perhaps as early as the classical period through Byzantine or later

⁴ I. Nikolajević, "Necropoles et tombes chrétiennes en Illyricum Oriental," *Εισηγήσεις τοῦ Δεκάτου Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας* (Thessalonike, 1980) 349-67, specifically 366 and 367.

⁵ J. Wiseman, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 5 (1978) 421-24.

⁶ T. Gregory, "The Late Roman Wall at Corinth," *Hesperia*, 48 (1979) 264-80; the plan appears on p. 265.

⁷ R. Carpenter, "Researches in the Topography of Ancient Corinth-I," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 33 (1929) 345-60; and J. Shelley, "The Christian Basilica near the Cenchrean Gate at Corinth," *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 166-89.

times. Constructed ca. 500 AD, the church went out of use in the second half of the sixth century.⁸

The Kodratos Basilica was located to the east of the line of the Late Roman city wall, probably near the road to Lechaion. It was excavated by E. Stikas in the early 1960s. The three-aisled basilica measures ca. 45 m. in length including the apse; the existence of a narthex is uncertain. Tombs predating the construction of the church, as well as from the early Byzantine and later periods, are located in and around the building. Probably constructed early in the sixth century, the Kraneion Basilica is said to have been functioning as late as the twelfth century, but the sketchy excavation reports do not make clear whether the church was continuously in use through those centuries.⁹

In the 1970s a third cemetery church was excavated on Temple Hill in Corinth under the direction of H. Robinson. This three-aisled basilica was smaller than the two extramural ones, measuring ca. 20 m. in length with apse and narthex. A long funerary chapel was attached to the south aisle. Burials of the late sixth or seventh centuries were found in and around the church. The construction of the basilica was dated to the late sixth or early seventh century on the basis of pottery found in a vaulted tomb contemporary with the narthex. The church had gone out of use by the late seventh or eighth century.¹⁰

The most interesting aspect of the basilica on Temple Hill is its location. Clearly, a cemetery church as defined above, with contemporary burials in and around it and an attached funerary chapel, stood not only inside the line of Late Roman fortifications but also near the center of the Late Roman or early Byzantine settlement.¹¹ This unexpected location for a cemetery church within the city center has not been emphasized, perhaps because of precedents at Corinth for intramural burial. In classical Corinth, because the defensive walls enclosed so great an area, some burials took place within those walls.¹² As Professor Gregory has pointed out, however, the concentrations of Late Roman graves lay outside the line of the Late Roman fortifications and in

⁸ See Pallas 1977, 154-56. Recent reports by Pallas appeared in *Πρακτικά* (1976) 163-95 and (1977) 162-83. For a relatively recent summary, see Pallas, "Corinthe et Nikopolis pendant le bas moyen-âge," *Felix Ravenna* 2 (1979) 93-142.

⁹ Stikas published excavation reports in *Πρακτικά* (1961) 129-36 and (1962) 51-6. See Pallas 1977, 156-63; he gives the early sixth century date for construction on the basis of architectural sculpture.

¹⁰ See Note 2 for the preliminary reports; a final report is in preparation. I express my thanks to Professor Robinson, the director of the Temple Hill excavations, for taking the time to show me the church on the site and to discuss it in detail.

¹¹ R.L. Scranton, *Corinth XVI, Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Princeton, 1957) Plan 4.

¹² See, e.g., H. Robinson, "A Sanctuary and Cemetery in Western Corinth," *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 1-35.

several instances immediately beyond the wall.¹³ This fact indicates that the inhabitants took the city wall into consideration in the location of cemeteries, and it makes the discovery of the basilica on Temple Hill even more surprising.

No firm conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the evidence now available, but the relative dates of the churches, and the fact that the Kraneion Basilica went out of use sometime during the second half of the sixth century allow one to speculate that burials and funerary rites, formerly carried out *extra muros*, were moved into the settlement, at least temporarily, sometime around 600 AD, possibly as a response to barbarian activities in the area.

The second issue is that of martyrs or martyria associated with cemetery churches. The literary evidence leaves no doubt that many Christians died for their faith in eastern Illyricum and that their remains were venerated. It appears, however, that certain tombs, found in or beside cemetery churches, have been identified too quickly and without sufficient evidence as the graves of martyrs.¹⁴ Three questions might reasonably be asked concerning such burials: 1) Does the type of tomb and the datable grave goods, if any, agree in date with a martyr burial, i.e., not later than the early fourth century? 2) Does the condition of the skeleton indicate an original, undisturbed burial? 3) If movement of the bones or translation of the relics is assumed, would the bones have been moved to an ordinary tomb rather than to some special repository?

The presence of a martyr's tomb has been suggested in several of the cemetery churches under consideration, including the Cemetery Basilica at Stobi, the Extramural Basilica in Thessalonike, the Kraneion and Kodratos churches at Corinth, and the Ilissos Basilica in Athens. At Stobi, the two Corinthian churches, and the Ilissos Basilica, the discussion has centered around the elaborate tomb, or chapel and tombs, attached to each church.

The Ilissos Basilica in Athens was excavated early in the twentieth century. Both its date and its original appearance are disputed. Its plan is that of a three-aisled basilica with a developed eastern end. From the north aisle, a stairway led down to the north into a square

¹³ Gregory, *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 279.

¹⁴ It should be pointed out that very few of the cemetery churches in eastern Illyricum appear to fit Krautheimer's definition of a cemeterial basilica as a *basilica ad corpus*, built over a martyr's tomb whose previous existence on the site is the reason for construction of the church. In this situation, according to Krautheimer, the Christian or pagan tombs of the preexisting cemetery on the site were razed, and the grave or *memoria*, set aside from the nave and aisles of the church, became the focal point of the cemeterial basilica. See R. Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 11 (1960) 15-40.

underground chamber built next to the aisle. The chamber, once covered by a dome, had spaces for graves opening out to the east, north, and west.¹⁵

In the Cemetery Basilica at Stobi, a somewhat smaller chamber, similar in design to the one beside the Ilissos Basilica, lies south of the narthex. Its staircase descends from the west, so that one apparently approached the tomb from outside the church. The tomb chamber is ca. 4.5 m. square; the four enclosing walls continued upward to form a chapel above ground. Pillars rise in the four corners of the subterranean compartment and spread to form arches over the four sides of the chamber and a domed ceiling above them. On three sides, the space under the arches was separated from the room by a vertical stone slab and used for burial; the entranceway occupied the middle of the west side.¹⁶

In the Kraneion Basilica at Corinth, just to the west of the south pastophorion, a triconch opens off the south aisle. The floor of the chapel apparently lay at the same level as the original floor of the aisle. The purpose of the eastern and western apses is not clear, but a large vaulted tomb occupied the space below the southern one. A number of burials were found in the tomb which displayed a removable stone door at the east end and hand or footholds in the sides of the tomb below the opening.¹⁷

Each of the three chambers described has been identified at least tentatively as the resting place of a martyr or martyrs.

Both literary and epigraphical evidence has been used to support the identification of the cemetery church located just north of Ancient Corinth as the one dedicated to the martyr Kodratos. Kodratos was martyred in the mid third century along with five companions; his mother had been put to death some years earlier. Joseph the Hymnographer (ninth century) mentions that a martyrion of Kodratos was located "in front of" the city of Corinth like an outer defensive wall.¹⁸ During the excavations a fragment of marble lintel was found, reused, in a tomb in the church; it was inscribed: [Ἰ] Ἀγίε Κοδρᾶτε μνήσθ[ητι] τῷ δούλῳ σο[υ].¹⁹ The assumption has been made that it was from the lintel over the main entrance to the church; it should be noted, however, that the inscribed fragment is part of a small, thin lintel and could not

¹⁵ I. Travlos has stated that the tomb was built earlier than the Ilissos Basilica; see I. Travlos, *Πολεοδομικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens, 1960) 136 and plans 6 and 7.

¹⁶ When this tomb was excavated, by whom, and what if anything was found is not known.

¹⁷ Carpenter, *American Journal of Archaeology* 33 (1929) 345; Shelley, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 181.

¹⁸ Joseph the Hymnographer, *Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol. 2, 4.

¹⁹ Stikas, *Πρακτικά* (1962) 54 and plate 49γ.

have spanned a wide doorway.²⁰ D. Pallas has tentatively identified an apsidal chapel with seven tombs, found ca. 15 m. south of the basilica, as the martyrium of Kodratos, his mother, and his companions.²¹

Barring a lucky epigraphical discovery, the identity of the tombs mentioned above will remain unknown. In one or two cases, a limited amount of additional investigation might provide decisive evidence that a tomb and its church were or were not built at the same time.²² On the basis of the information now available, however, some statements about the probability of the tombs being those of martyrs can be made.

J. Shelley, in his publication of the triconch chapel at the Kraneion Basilica, argued against its identification as the resting place of a martyr. He pointed out that both the tomb in the triconch and the chamber beside the Ilissos Basilica were intended for repeated burials rather than for the safeguarding of the relics of martyrs.²³

Shelley's argument may be expanded. In the cases described above, with the possible exception of the Ilissos Basilica, the tombs, or chapel and tombs were apparently contemporary with the construction of the church. The date of the Ilissos Basilica is disputed, but it is certainly no earlier than 400 AD. Both churches at Corinth have been dated ca. 500 AD. The Stobi basilica falls sometime in the second half of the fifth century. Obviously tombs of these dates are unlikely to contain original burials of martyrs. If relics of a martyr had been transferred from elsewhere, either from the tomb of a local martyr or from further away, one would expect them to be housed under the altar of a church or in some other special area. The tombs of the four churches would have provided neither security for sacred relics nor facilities for their veneration.

Examples of the type of tomb attached to the Stobi and Ilissos basilicas have been found elsewhere, in Late Roman cemeteries or isolated from other burials. An example is the tomb preserved in the courtyard of the Law School at the University of Thessalonike.²⁴ The three *arcosolia* of such a tomb provide space for three or more interments; and the careful, if somewhat awkward, arrangements for

²⁰ Stikas (see previous note) gives the preserved length of the lintel fragment as 1.10 m. The drawing on plate 49γ indicates that both the height and the thickness of the lintel were less than 0.20 m.

²¹ Pallas 1977, 163.

²² See note 15 above concerning the Ilissos Basilica. Carpenter, *American Journal of Archaeology* 33 (1929) 350-51, was quite certain that the triconch, with its tomb, and the basilica had been constructed together. The walls of the Cemetery Basilica at Stobi and the large tomb appear to be bonded. Because the apsidal chapel was located some meters away from the Kodratos Basilica, structural and chronological relationships between them are difficult to determine.

²³ Shelley, *Hesperia* 12 (1933) 183.

²⁴ See the *Chronika* of *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 21 (1966) 335-36 and 27 (1972) 551, figure 3, and plate 498.

access suggest that the tomb was intended to be used for repeated burials. Such tombs probably functioned as family mausolea.

Although some tombs in and around the Kodratos Basilica date from an earlier period, e.g., the Roman mausoleum just west of the church, the published accounts of the excavation mention only that skeletons, presumably of original, undisturbed burials, were found in the tombs in the chapel;²⁵ no evidence is provided for an early date for those particular graves. The eastern apsidal end and the southern wall of the chapel are preserved; it is not clear from the published plan how far to the west the southern wall extended. There is very little space in the plan for a wall between the seven tombs in the chapel and the similar tombs immediately to the north. Funerary inscriptions have identified the occupants of certain tombs in the church proper; a few held members of the clergy, including a bishop.²⁶

The arrangements for continuing burial in the tomb below the south apse of the triconch of the Kraneion Basilica argue against a martyr burial, as does the existence of other, large, solidly built, if less elaborate, funerary chambers attached to that church. As Shelley suggested,²⁷ the occupants of that tomb, as well as of the tombs at the Kodratos Basilica, the Cemetery Basilica at Stobi, and the Ilissos Basilica, were possibly members of the clergy but more likely members of a wealthy and influential local family, which had contributed substantially to the construction of the church.

²⁵ Stikas, *Πρακτικά* (1962) 51.

²⁶ Pallas 1977, figure 110 on p. 160, reproduces the plan published by Stikas in *Πρακτικά* (1962). Inscriptions from the basilica were published in both excavation reports. The name of the bishop was Eustathios.

²⁷ Shelley, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 183.

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decisions of the Seven Ecumenical Synods, the Fathers, and Holy Tradition. Do not deviate in the least or innovate.

Vasileiadis views the papal desire for a reunion of Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians in the fifteenth century and now as having as its real objective the subjugation of the Orthodox East. He sees no genuine Christian love but opportunism on the part of the bishop of Rome. The papal claims to primacy and infallibility and the insistence on the use of the "filioque" in the Creed are seen as insurmountable obstacles to any genuine dialogue for the improvement of relations between East and West.

In conclusion, I would like to add that the book is well printed and provided with several fine illustrations.

John Cavarinos
Professor of History, Emeritus

Credo in Spiritum Sanctum. Atti del Congresso Teologico Internazionale di Pneumatologia. Edited by R. P. Jose Saraiva Martins. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983. Pp. 1570. Cloth, \$68.75.

This important book is a record of an international congress on pneumatology held in Rome in 1983. The size of the volume (1570 pp.) and the multilingual character of the text (French, German, Italian, English and Spanish) will make it useful only for the most technical library. However, the fact that John Paul II rose from his sickbed to attend this congress and the proclamation of the creed of 381 in its ancient and unaltered form as well as the seriousness and quality of the papers make it an invaluable resource to the pneumatological, historical and ecumenical scholar.

The papers of the Congress are divided into five sections with fifteen to twenty essays in each section. The sections are: the pneumatology of the Synod of Constantinople I and its soteriological and theological questions, the discussion of the Holy Spirit according to the churches of the East and the West, biblical pneumatology, the Holy Spirit and the reflections of the Church today, and the Holy Spirit and the unity of the Church in the renewal of the world. Cardinal Ratzinger presided and Roman Catholic scholars predominate, but the presence of such important authors as Zizioulas, Khodr, Staniloae, Trakatellis, and serious Protestant scholars lend an ecumenical seriousness to the volume which carry it beyond the context in which it was generated.

This congress on Catholic soil has called for a serious reevaluation of the position of the West on pneumatology since the middle ages.

Accompanied with the consultations held by the World Council, it provides a basis for a totally new appreciation of the ecumenical dimensions in pneumatology making this an important historical resource. Hopefully, scholarship will search these and other essays on the topic to make available in more accessible form the convergent insights of the churches of the East and West on their common trinitarian faith and its understanding of the life of the spirit. "Confessing the Apostolic Faith Today," the study on the Nicene Creed which will be the focus for the World and National Councils of Churches will be moved forward immeasurably by these studies.

Brother Jeffrey Gros, F.S.C.

*Director, Commission on Faith and Order
National Council of Churches in the U.S.A.*

BOOK NOTES

Πνευματικὸν Ἀντίδωρον: Τιμητικὸς τόμος Γερασίου Ἰω. Κονιδάρη, ἐπὶ τῇ 50ετηρίδι ἐπιστημονικῆς δράσεως καὶ τῇ 40ετηρίδι καθηγεσίας καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δράσεως αὐτοῦ [Spiritual Antidoron: Honorary Volume for Gerasimos J. Konidares on the 50th Anniversary of His Academic Activity and the 40th Anniversary of His Professorship and Ecclesiastical Activity]. By Emmanuel J. Constantinides and Demetrios B. Gones. Athens, 1981. Pp. 749. Illustrations. Paperbound.

Gerasimos J. Konidares was born in Athens in 1905. After graduating from Rizareios Ecclesiastical School (1919-1924), he studied theology at the University of Athens (1924-1929). He pursued graduate studies in the School of Philosophy, University of Berlin, specializing in Ecclesiastical History (1930-1933). He received his doctorate from the University of Athens (1934), after presenting his dissertation (in Greek) entitled: *The Metropoleis and Archbishoprics of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Their Ordo*, Athens, 1934) in Greece. In the meantime, he served in different academic posts in Greece.

In 1945, he was appointed professor of General Ecclesiastical History in the School of Theology, University of Thessalonike. In 1951, he accepted the same post in the School of Theology, University of Athens. He retired in 1970. At present, Dr. Konidares is president of the Literary Society "Parnassos" of Athens. In addition to his distinguished career in teaching, Professor Konidares has been a prolific writer and has participated in many academic and ecclesiastical conferences in Greece and abroad. He has taken an active part in church work, inter-Christian relations, and the ecumenical movement. He has also been very active in the field of philanthropy and participated in

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Deception as Patriarchal Self-Defense in a Foreign Land: A Form Critical Study of the Wife-Sister Stories in Genesis

HARRY S. PAPPAS

THIS PAPER IS AN ATTEMPT to use form critical methodology in studying three particular passages in the Old Testament. The so-called 'wife-sister' stories of Genesis, found in chapters 12, 20 and 26, have indeed become something of a *locus classicus* for form critical study of the Old Testament. This particular way of approaching the biblical text was pioneered primarily by Hermann Gunkel, the great German biblical scholar of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and has been utilized, developed and refined ever since in contemporary study. Because significant help in understanding Scripture has been derived from such a methodology, it is worthwhile to re-examine these three portions of Genesis with the aid of such a useful tool.

Three particular matters need to be stated clearly before we begin. First, this paper is an examination of the Hebrew text of the passages in question. Consequently, the reader should keep in mind that not only verse divisions but also all pertinent matters of analysis—such as individual words, grammar, and syntax—refer to biblical Hebrew. Secondly, we will continually be comparing and contrasting our results with those of scholars who have labored over this material in the same or a similar manner.¹ Thirdly, form critical methodology has never

¹ The commentaries to be used here include: Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis* (Göttingen, 1902); Carl A. Keller, " 'Die Gefährdung der Ahnfrau' Ein Beitrag zur gattungs- und motivgeschichtlichen Erforschung alttestamentlicher Erzählungen," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 66 (1975) 181-91; Eugene H. Maly, "Genesis 12, 10-20; 20, 1-18; 26, 7-11 and the Pentateuchal Question," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 18 (1956) 255-62; E. A. Speiser, "The Wife-Sister Motif in the Patriarchal Narratives," in *Oriental and Biblical Studies*, Finkelstein and Greenberg, eds. (Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 62-82; Klaus Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method* (New York, 1969); Gotz Schmitt, "Zu Gen 26:1-14," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 85 (1973) 143-56; David L. Petersen,

been standardized. Views still differ not only regarding terminology, but also more fundamental aspects such as definition itself and breadth of application. Nevertheless, the present writer will in general follow what he considers a reliable consensus of opinion as outlined by Gene Tucker,² albeit with some degree of modification to suit the purposes of the subject at hand. Therefore, after reference to the results of source criticism, all three stories will be analyzed according to structure, genre, layers of tradition, setting, and intention. Following this will be a section which will summarize and compare some of these form critical results.

Source Criticism

The first wife-sister story, found in Chapter 12 (hereafter cited as 'A') is generally assigned to the Jahwist (J) due to the occurrence of the divine name Yahweh in v. 17, His straightforward intervention into the action of the story, and various lexical occurrences. Exactly how this passage fits into J, however, is less generally agreed upon. For example, Gunkel early on attributed this to what he called a "secondary source" used by J; John Van Seters prefers to place this in an early J source.³

The second wife-sister story, located in Chapter 20 (hereafter cited as 'B') is usually attributed to the Elohist source (E) due to the mention of Elohlm several times (vv. 3, 6, 11, 13, 17), His action through the less direct medium of a dream (vv. 3 and 6), various words which are characteristic of E, and certain features which are not compatible to what we know about the Priestly source.⁴ There is some question, though, about two portions of this chapter. Verse 1a, because of its geographical incongruity with v. 1b and the rest of the chapter, is often considered non-Elohistic.⁵ And v. 18, because of the occurrence of the divine name Yahweh and the verse's function as a postscript to the story, is usually assigned to J.

"A Thrice-Told Tale: Genre, Theme, and Motif," *Biblical Research* 18 (1973) 30-43; Robert Culley, *Studies in the Structure of Hebrew Narrative* (Philadelphia, 1976); and James G. Williams, "The Beautiful and the Barren: Conventions in Biblical Type-Scenes," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 17 (1980) 107-19.

² Gene Tucker, *Form Criticism of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 10-17, 41-54.

³ Gunkel, pp. 148-52; John Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, 1975), p. 183.

⁴ Gunkel, p. 193.

⁵ *Ibid* ; Martin Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), p. 35; Van Seters, p. 172.

The third wife-sister story in Chapter 26 (hereafter cited as 'C') is on the whole attributed to J, but there are indications of greater complexity at the source level here than in either A or B. Gunkel readily assigned vv. 7-11 to what he called the primary source of J, but considered vv. 1-6 as a conglomeration of not only this primary source of J, but also E, the redactor of J, a later hand, and (finally) even the Deuteronomic source!⁶

Form Criticism

Structure. This brief look at the sources is not intended to pre-empt the first step of form critical analysis—determining the original unit.

Within the larger context of the Abraham narratives, 12.1-9 relates the call of the patriarch from Haran and his journey through Canaan to the Negeb. 13.2f. tells of the journey of the now wealthy Abram from the Negeb back to Canaan, his subsequent settlement there and his separation from Lot. If A thus consists of 12.10-20 (and perhaps 13.1) there are several ways in which it simply is not closely connected to this surrounding material: Lot, though present with Abram in 12.1-9 and 13, is strangely absent here; Abram, who has just arrived in Palestine in 12.7, suddenly leaves for Egypt a few verses later, only to return as swiftly in 13.1; and the picture of Abram changes dramatically from that of an inspired pilgrim in 12.1-9 to an almost cowardly sojourner in A.⁷ Syntactically, we may further note that both 12.10 and 13.2 have an initial disjunctive clause⁸ which may serve to inaugurate their respective units. On the other hand, it is not entirely clear whether the conclusion of the unit is in 12.20 or 13.1. Koch's remark that stories (such as this) end in speeches would favor the former.⁹ However, Petersen argues for the latter on the basis that both the mention of "he and his wife" and the return to the Negeb are essential to the unit.¹⁰ Moreover, there are a few interesting parallels in the present text: "journey to the Negeb" (12.9) and "go up to the Negeb" (13.1); and the famine is "severe" (12.10) while Abram is "wealthy" (13.2; both words are the same in Hebrew—"kabad"). Of course, it may well be that 13.1 is simply a redactional insertion, modeled after 12.9, which attempts to create

⁶ Gunkel, pp. 264-66.

⁷ Koch, p. 115; Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. John H. Marks (Philadelphia, 1961), pp. 167-68.

⁸ Petersen, p. 34.

⁹ Koch, p. 115.

¹⁰ Petersen, p. 34.

a smooth transition in getting Abram back into the Negeb for Ch. 13. It would appear, therefore, that the textual evidence is inconclusive for determining whether 12.20 or 13.1 is the end of the original unit.

Ch. 20 is preceded by the story of Sodom and Gomorrah and its aftermath (J material) and is most immediately followed by the account of Isaac's birth (21.1f.; mostly E). That B consists of the entire chapter is reinforced by the introduction in v. 1 which cannot be linked with anything in the previous narrative (whether or not v. 1a is considered non-E). However, the final verse of ch. 20 gives some indication that the conclusion of the unit is now obscured. Indeed, the story does end satisfactorily; but v. 18, an explanatory clause with the divine name Yahweh, gives every appearance of being a later addition, perhaps from J (the same may be said about 12.1). Strictly speaking, thus, the original unit of B is limited to 20.1-17.

The precise delineation of C is more difficult than the other two, primarily because the conclusion of the story is so difficult to determine. Is it v. 11, since an adequate resolution to the story is brought about?¹¹ Or is it v. 16, since Isaac's acquisition of wealth and the consequences of Abimelech's protection are expected in the story?¹² Source distinctions are no help here, since vv. 12 f. are also ascribed to J. Likewise syntax provides no assistance as almost every verse begins with a converted imperfect verb. Without further evidence it is therefore impossible to decide conclusively between the two alternatives. Yet, we shall simply opt for v. 16 as the terminus on the basis of content and the fact that Isaac does not depart from Gerar until v. 17. Unlike the conclusion of the story, the beginning of the unit can be easily separated from the preceding material in 25.19ff., which narrates the birth of Esau and Jacob and then Esau's selling of his birthright. In addition, 26.1 begins syntactically with an initial disjunctive clause reminiscent of 12.10.¹³ C thus consists of 26.1-16.

We can conclude that, in spite of a few difficulties in determining the precise parameters of each unit, there are no serious problems which stand in the way of considering each of these wife-sister stories as original units that presumably existed at one time independently of their present context.

The next step is to outline the structure of each story and

¹¹ Koch, pp. 116-17; William McKane, *Studies in the Patriarchal Narratives* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 133

¹² Petersen, pp. 34-35.

¹³ Ibid

to provide an analysis of the narrative.

The outline of A can be given as follows:¹⁴

1. Setting (vv. 10-13)
 - a) Famine causes Abram to go to Egypt (v. 10)
 - b) Abram devises scheme with Sarai to protect his own life (vv. 11-13)
2. Events and their Consequences (vv. 14-17)
 - a) Sarai is noted for her beauty (v. 14)
 - b) Praise of her before Pharaoh leads to her incorporation into his house (v. 15)
 - c) Abram benefits and becomes wealthy (v. 16)
 - d) Yahweh afflicts Pharaoh with plagues on account of Sarai (v. 17)
3. Resolution (vv. 18-20 [13.1])
 - a) Pharaoh's reaction and response
 - i) Confronts Abram with the deception (vv. 18-19a)
 - ii) Restores Sarai to him (v. 19b)
 - iii) Commands men to escort Abram away (v. 20)
 - b) [Abram and his household return to the Negeb (13.1)]

Even a casual look shows the narrative is simple. There are two dialogues (or rather, monologues), both of which serve to highlight certain segments of the narrative—the conception of the patriarch's plan in the face of impending danger and the angry response this evokes from his host. In this way, Abram (vv. 11-13) and Pharaoh (vv. 18-20) balance one another quite well. In between their speeches is the major action of the narrative, which is so brief that even the actual deception itself is omitted! One exception to this brevity is the enumeration of Abram's possessions (v. 16), which seems to show that some extra attention was given to his good fortune. A consequence of such a narrative style is that characterization is clearly subordinated to action. Of the four main characters, Sarai does not speak at all; she really functions more as the main *object* of the story. Yahweh, though present only in one verse (v. 17), cannot be considered secondary since His intervention brings about the climax of the story and leads to a resolution of Sarai's predicament. Another consequence is that much has remained unsaid, such as Sarai's response to Abram's proposed ploy, what exactly happened to her in

¹⁴For other schematizations of A, cf. Van Seters, pp. 168-69; Petersen, pp. 36-38; and Culley, pp. 35-36.

Pharaoh's custody,¹⁵ and how Pharaoh learned that Sarai was really Abram's wife.¹⁶

B may be outlined as follows:

1. Setting (v. 1)—Abraham journeys to the Negeb and sojourns at Gerar
2. Events and their Consequences (vv. 2-8)
 - a) Abraham lies about Sarah (v. 2a)
 - b) Abimelech takes Sarah (v. 2b)
 - c) Divine Intervention (vv. 3-7)
 - i) Elohim threatens Abimelech (vv. 3, 7b)
 - ii) Abimelech protests his innocence and maintains his integrity (vv. 4-5)
 - iii) Elohim has restrained Abimelech (v. 6)
 - iv) Elohim commands restitution of Sarah and promises Abraham's help (v. 7a)
3. Resolution (vv. 9-17)
 - a) Dialogue—Abimelech and Abraham (vv. 9-13)
 - i) Abimelech confronts Abraham with the deception (vv. 9-10)
 - ii) Abraham gives reasons for his actions (vv. 11-13)
 - b) Actions of Abimelech (vv. 14-16)
 - i) Gives gifts to Abraham (vv. 14-15)
 - ii) Gives money which vindicates Sarah (v. 16)
 - c) Intercession of Abraham leads to healing of Abimelech and his harem (v. 17)

The characteristics of this wife-sister story are quite striking, especially when considered alongside A. There is increased complexity of theme and narration, expansion of dialogue and speech and character development. These differences are reflected in the above outline with its altered structure. The setting differs in terms of content: there is now no motivation given for a journey to a foreign land, and the scene has shifted to Gerar where Abimelech rules as king. Further, the decisive, precipitative events are truncated even more, although this time the actual incidence of Abraham's deception is mentioned. In addition, attention has been called to a more complex 'flash-back'

¹⁵ Many commentators simply assume that Pharaoh has committed adultery with her, but this is questionable since there is no explicit mention of it happening

¹⁶ Cf Gunkel, pp 150f, von Rad, p 168

(“nachholende”) style of narrative, in which certain details are provided only later in the story, sometime after their natural position.¹⁷ These features allow the plot to develop even more quickly than before so that more attention can be given to underlying issues of the narrative. Consequently characterization is developed and takes precedence over much of the action. Indeed the motives of Abimelech, Elohim and Abraham are all spelled out explicitly in the course of the expanded dialogues. The various issues now addressed are the moral responsibility of Abimelech and Abraham, the extent of Elohim’s influence and power over men, and Sarah’s purity. For Petersen, the particular emphasis of E rests in the two most important themes: (1) the fear of Elohim (a core element within E), and (2) a dialectic of sin, whereby someone had to be responsible for affronting Elohim, who caused some affliction, although no one could be singled out as particularly guilty.¹⁹ Thus we can concur with the judgment of von Rad who described B as reflective, sensitive, and theologically refined and psychologically oriented.²⁰

The final version of the story, C, can be outlined as follows:

1. Setting (vv. 1-6)
 - a) Famine; Isaac goes to Gerar (v. 1)
 - b) Appearance of Yahweh to Isaac—directions and promise of blessing (vv. 2-5)
 - c) Isaac remains at Gerar (v. 6)
2. Events (vv. 7-8)
 - a) Isaac lies about Rebekah (v. 7)
 - b) After some time, Abimelech discovers the truth (v. 8))
3. Resolution (vv. 9-16)
 - a) Dialogue—Abimelech and Isaac
 - i) Abimelech confronts Isaac with the deception and its danger (vv. 9a, 10)
 - ii) Isaac defends himself (v. 9b)
 - b) Abimelech orders protection for Isaac and Rebekah (v. 11)
 - c) Isaac becomes wealthy, incurring the jealousy and reprisals of the Gerarites (vv. 12-15)
 - d) Isaac is forced to leave Gerar (v. 16)

It is clear from this outline of the structure that C is both different

¹⁷ Gunkel, pp. 194, 197.

¹⁸ Petersen, pp. 38-41

¹⁹ Ibid.; cf. also Gunkel, p. 195.

²⁰ von Rad, p. 226.

from and similar to A and B. In general, the atmosphere of the narrative is the most 'secular' of all three stories. This is evident in the accidental way in which Abimelech discovers the truth about Rebekah, the revealing description of Isaac together with Rebekah (itself a play on words), and the jealousy of the Gerarites which ultimately leads to Isaac's expulsion. However, this secular character contrasts strikingly with the divine intervention which occurs now not *after* the deception but *before*. Such an early instance of divine intervention into the story causes a considerable expansion to the setting of the narrative (vv. 1-6). This setting mentions a famine (like A) and refers to Gerar and to Abimelech (like B), but now is concerned with Isaac and Rebekah (like neither). The puzzling behavior of the patriarch, who goes to Gerar instead of more logically to Egypt, is given an explanation in the theophany to Isaac which begins with a negative command. More significantly, this theophany contains the divine promises of blessing that are central to the patriarchal histories in their present form. The language of v. 5 is quite Deuteronomistic and gives further support, on the basis of the syntax involved, that this verse is most likely a late addition. Verse 6 looks like a redaction addition which further connects C with A. Other differences between C, on the one hand, and A and B, on the other, include: (1) the narrative now extends over a period of time (v. 8a), and (2) Rebekah's danger is much less real.²¹ Similarities include: (1) the patriarch fears for his life, (2) the foreign ruler finds out the truth and confronts the patriarch with it, and (3) the patriarch profits substantially. This last point, however, carries two unique nuances in C—Isaac now receives great material benefit not from his foreign host but directly from Yahweh even if he is under Abimelech's legislated protection (v. 11), and his wealth is so great that he eventually becomes a threat to his hosts. When these factors are taken into account, along with the source critical observations made earlier, it increases the likelihood that the present form of C has been consciously shaped with A in mind in an effort to draw a contrast between the two.²² This would uphold Gunkel's observation that C is an attempt to eliminate the offensive portions of A and a revision of the narrative in order to increase the glory of the patriarchs.²³

²¹ Petersen, pp. 41-43; Culley, pp. 38-39

²² Petersen, pp. 41-43. This judgment is against Noth, who sees C as completely devoid of passages in later discursive style, and who regards C as an authentic Isaac tradition that did not develop beyond the initial stages but which was atrophied in favor of the Abraham tradition (p. 104).

²³ Gunkel, p. 265

Genre. Keller's arguments concerning the unsatisfactory classifications of narrative genres (*Gattungen*) aside, we shall follow classical form critical method and speak about genres at this point.²⁴ In their present form, these stories are written in narrative prose. Further, when we take into account the foregoing analysis of structure, we recognize that at least A and C are clearly sagas, that is, stories which presumably originate at the oral level, depend on tradition and imagination, are narrated in a simple, relatively brief style in which characterization is subordinated to action, deal with the private lives of individuals, and contain an element of divine intervention.²⁵ However, this would not altogether exclude the possibility that an actual historical occurrence may underlie the oral tradition behind these stories.

Since these particular sagas concern a patriarch in a foreign land, contain specific indications of location, and deal with the relations between ancient Israel and her neighbors, Gunkel's classification of these as ethnological sagas still has validity.²⁶ Claus Westermann's designation of 'family stories' seems to the present writer to be without enough focus to make it very helpful.²⁷

We have purposely postponed discussing the genre of B until now. For while it shares a number of saga characteristics in common with A and C, B does not appear to be so neatly categorized. This is so for two main reasons which have been touched upon earlier: (1) the narrative, with its 'flash-back' technique, is complex in nature, and (2) the action is clearly subordinated to characterization.²⁸ When we also consider that the writer of B is interested in questions of morality and motivation, could not this story be designated more adequately as a legend? This is certainly worth considering since B approximates some of Gunkel's criteria for such a genre classification.

Within these overall designations of genre, some attention may be

²⁴ Keller's emphasis upon placing the "building-blocks" ("motifs") of narrative within the context of ancient Israelite life does more to postpone treatment of genre rather than dispose of it altogether (Keller, pp. 181-85). Regarding this point, one wonders whether Koch's criticism of Keller, that the story is not written in order to embody such motifs, is a bit unfair (Koch, p. 102).

²⁵ Cf. Petersen, pp. 33-34; and Koch, pp. 119-20.

²⁶ In this he is followed by Koch (pp. 120-22) and McKane (p. 134). Gunkel further noted some affinities between the wife-sister stories and certain recorded events in Egypt. He concluded that this particular saga may be genuinely Egyptian, although in this specific instance it is not (p. 150).

²⁷ Claus Westermann, *The Promises to the Fathers*, trans. David E. Green (Philadelphia, 1980), p. 62. It comes as no surprise that such a designation has not met with much support from scholars.

²⁸ Even Koch, who at first lumped all three versions together in terms of genre, alluded to this (pp. 119-20).

given to the presence of other literary genres that are reflected in several verses. Koch, for one, refers to these as "component types" (as distinguished from "complex types," such as saga) and isolates a number of these, ranging from divine speech, which uses simple imperatives in commands (26.2), to human speech, which employs legal language that has an affinity with apodictic law.²⁹ His point is to demonstrate the variety of human expression (and, thus, spheres of human life) which are inherently bound up with these sagas in their final form. In a sense, Koch is entirely justified, especially where he notes the relationship of these with legal language. On the other hand, it is worth questioning whether it is appropriate to designate a "blunt question" (e.g., 12.18) and an "apologetic answer" (e.g., 20.11), to name only two, as "component literary types." Are not these 'formulas' so common within daily human dialogue as to render them practically useless in distinguishing literary genres?

Levels of Tradition. Up to this point, mention has been made at times concerning the evidence of layers present within these three wife-sister stories. It is now appropriate to take a closer look at these.

From what we have already seen concerning the framework surrounding A, it is clear that the final shaping of the text is decidedly different from an original form of the narrative as it would have existed in oral tradition. The story itself has been received by J and inserted into this position, more than likely in order to account for Abram's great wealth in 13.2.³⁰ Within the J document it is clear that A now functions as another episode in the life of the patriarch Abraham which manifests his special relationship to Yahweh on the basis of his calling and destiny (12.1-3). This can be readily distinguished from an earlier pre-Israelite oral level of the story which would simply have related the adventure of a tribal ancestor in a foreign land. It is clear, therefore, that at least two layers can immediately be detected in this first story—the original account in oral tradition which underlies the present form of the story and its later shaping in the J document. Later additions in A itself, which would reflect further layering (for example, by the Priestly redaction), do not seem to be detectable. Whether or not the narrator here knew the tradition that Sarai was Abram's half-sister (20.12, E), as von Rad states, can not be convincingly demonstrated or denied

²⁹ Koch, pp. 120-21

³⁰ Gunkel, p. 148; Noth, p. 199, note, and p. 233. Gunkel, in particular, delineates several reasons why this story could not belong originally to J. These need not be repeated here.

due to the ambiguity accompanying the antiquity of this supposed claim of Abram.³¹

In contrast to A, the features of B evince a more developed version of the narrative. Starting from the final shape of the text, v. 18 betrays an incorporation of the E account into J, which provides a final postscript to fill in a lacuna in the narrative. Within the E document, the narrative has changed in several important ways. In addition to what has already been said, there is concern to demonstrate the innocence of Abimelech and to eradicate any morally reprehensible implications of Sarah's position within the royal harem. Further, Abraham here appears as a prophet whose primary characteristic is the power of intercession. This in particular is a clear anachronism which must be ascribed to E's pen.³² Commentators have argued both for and against v. 12 (Sarah as Abraham's half-sister) as part of the original tradition.³³ It is difficult to imagine, though, why E would have fabricated such a line which would have been so utterly unacceptable to the Israelites of his own day. This is even more striking when one considers that E evidently has altered other segments of the narrative to suit his own religious sentiments. We thus may conclude that, lacking some reasonable motivation, v. 12 is part of the underlying narrative received by E. At the same time, this would not necessarily rule out the possibility that it is still not original, but was added at some point later in oral tradition. To the original level probably belongs the "objective" guilt of Abimelech (for merely taking Sarah) which, in v. 4, incriminates his whole kingdom.³⁴ Thus, in spite of the heavy reworking of received material by E, there are still preserved here some aspects of earlier levels of the tradition.

More than in either A or B, C has evidence of a variety of layers. One of the most unique features of this version is Yahweh's revelation and giving of promises in vv. 3-5. Von Rad reckons only v. 3a to J; the rest he regards as a later expansion.³⁵ Indeed, could such an expansion have come from more than one hand since there is some repetition (e.g., vv. 1a and 3b) and because v. 5 has a strong Deuteronomistic flavor which predicates the extension of blessing to

³¹ von Rad, p. 168. To illustrate the widely divergent views on this, we may note that Gunkel reasons that 20.12 was a fabrication inserted by the narrator who was evidently offended by the seemingly blatant lie of Abram in A (pp. 195-96).

³² von Rad, p. 228.

³³ Gunkel, pp. 195-96; von Rad, pp. 226-27.

³⁴ von Rad, pp. 227-28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-71.

Isaac on Abraham's obedience?³⁶ It is evident at this very late level of the text that not only the entire patriarchal history is in view, but definite commandments, ordinances, etc., are involved. The focus seems no longer on the story *per se*, but rather on Isaac as the successor to the patriarchal promises and as a forebear of Israel's future. At the source level J, various similarities and differences with A and B have already been noted. That Abimelech is here called "king of the Philistines," an evident anachronism, could be the work of J,³⁷ although it is quite possibly due as well to previous expansion in oral tradition. To either of these levels we may also attribute at least some of the material in vv. 12-16—the blessing of Yahweh, the heightened emphasis of Isaac's wealth and the jealousy of "the Philistines." Yet for all this development in Isaac as patriarch and the blessing of Yahweh, C still contains elements of the narrative which point back to the earliest layer of oral tradition.

We may conclude, therefore, that at the very least two levels are clearly evident in these sagas—an oral pre-Israelite one, extending back well into the second millennium B.C., and a literary source, stemming from the ninth or the eighth century B.C. At the same time there is evidence of further layering which would reveal development of the story in oral as well as written tradition. Other than a few instances, these levels are not as easy to identify.

Setting. Beginning with the earliest level of pre-Israelite oral tradition, the common setting of all three stories would most likely be a group of nomads or semi-nomads who were the ancestors of Israel long before the Exodus and conquest of Canaan. They would have lived in or around the southern part of Canaan and would have been familiar to some extent with life in settled cities such as Gerar.³⁸ It is commonly accepted by interpreters that the main ingredients in the wife-sister stories are historically compatible with conditions in Palestine in the mid second millennium B.C. as we can best reconstruct them.³⁹

In time, as the forebears of Israel became more agrarian, this setting would have changed: the nomads and semi-nomads became farmers and so lived a more settled life in villages. It is at this stage, still in oral tradition, that various embellishments of the sagas could perhaps be accounted for, such as the inclusion of cattle as a gift or award to

³⁶ This latter element betrays an interest in Abraham that even P does not have (see van Rad, pp 270-71)

³⁷ Noth, p 155, note.

³⁸ Koch, p 127; von Rad, p 270

³⁹ Koch, p 128. Of course, an exception to the prevailing opinion is Van Seters.

the patriarch.⁴⁰ If we move next to the period of Israelite monarchy and nationhood, and specifically to the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. in which J and E worked, the setting shifts to a literary one. In this context the wife-sister stories would have been fixed in a way not possible in oral transmission. At the same time, certain transformations in the story resulted from such a new living context: for example, under the influence of prophetic circles, Abraham now acquires the status of a prophet (in B) with intercessory powers.⁴¹ Here too, it is reasonable to expect that the psychological development of the saga, clearly evident in the expanded dialogues of B, is due to the interests of the writer (redactor) of E.⁴² The last developments of the literary setting of the stories would have occurred as these sources were placed by a redactor in larger units, ending finally with the present shape of the Pentateuch. Among these later additions is the Deuteronomistic statement about the obedience of Abraham (26.5), which may well stem from late seventh century Judah under the reign of Josiah.

Intention. In general, sagas are concerned with human beings, but only insofar as they are the *objects* of divine activity in the world. God thus is the real subject. Certainly the wife-sister stories are no exception to this. For in each of these, the deity is the dominant figure who directs the action on to its climax and resolution in one way or another—by inflicting plagues on Pharaoh (A), by communicating with Abimelech through dreams (B), or by appearing to Isaac with promises and blessings which bear some immediate fruit (C).

More specifically, the various levels of tradition reflect different concerns and purposes. At the earliest level the story was no doubt told in tribal circles for entertainment. Particularly important at this level are the beauty and loyalty of the tribal mother and the clever foresight of the tribal father.⁴³ As well, the humorous and mundane way in which the ruse is discovered in C would fit within this kind of intention. Another purpose of the story at the oral level, though not necessarily the earliest, would have been to explain the origin or history of a relationship between a tribe which traced its ancestry to a patriarch and neighboring peoples, such as the Canaanites at Gerar. In this way, for example, some degree of hostility between descendants of Isaac and the Gerarites could have been explained.

As these stories were collected together to form saga chains dealing with the life of a patriarch, either later in oral tradition or at or near the time of written sources, meaning and intention were increasingly

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Gunkel, pp 149-50

provided from the larger literary whole. The stories become important to show how the patriarch became wealthy (A and C). More significantly, as his relationship with the God of Israel was now of increased importance, the intention became more theological and edifying. God reveals himself to the patriarch and promises him certain things. When the promise is threatened, as through the backfired plan of a patriarch, it is Yahweh/Elohim himself who intervenes to save the day. Certainly by the time of literary sources, these sagas serve to demonstrate God's special relationship with Israel which stemmed from his protection and blessing of her ancestors and his punishment and overpowering of their opponents.⁴⁴

More clearly than this, the concern with psychological motivation and moral responsibility, so prevalent in B, appears to come from the level of sources. The God of Israel, which is now a sovereign nation in its own right, is so universally powerful that even foreign kings fear him. Abraham must have had very good reason to call Sarah his sister. The depiction of him as prophet may well have been intended to show the antiquity or even origin of the prophetic office within Israel's heritage, and perhaps as well to legitimize it.

And finally, at later stages of the literary growth of these sagas, the purpose was further expanded and altered to show that the transference of the promises of God from one generation to the next was conditional upon the spiritual fidelity of each generation. And this meant primarily obedience to God's commandments and laws (26.5).

Relationship and Nature of Versions

A summary of the common narrative elements present in the three wife-sister stories yields the following:

1. Setting: Patriarch and his wife travel to a foreign land in order to sojourn there.
2. Action: Patriarch lies about his wife who has drawn attention.
3. Divine Intervention: The deity acts to alter the course of events in some significant way.
4. Climax: The ruse is discovered by the foreign ruler.
5. Resolution: The foreign ruler confronts the patriarch with the truth.
6. Result: The patriarch benefits materially.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Gunkel, pp. 150f.; Maly, p. 259; von Rad, pp. 168-70.

⁴⁵ This summary differs from two other recent summaries given by Petersen (pp. 35-36) and Williams (pp. 108-09). Both of these are inadequate for different reasons. the former is too simple and the latter inaccurate

The order of appearance of each of these is never the same in each particular story, so they can not be given a structure analogous to the format used earlier. In addition, the precise way in which each element occurs is also never quite the same. It is also important to note that certain elements of the story are simply not common to all three stories. One of the most prominent of these is the incorporation of the patriarchal wife into the foreign ruler's harem. Although an important part of the action in both A and B, this element is neither present nor could it be present in C.

But in spite of whatever differences there are in these three accounts, the listing of the above six elements (as well as common lexical features)⁴⁶ demonstrate that they are closely related in some way in Israel's tradition. Keller's arguments to demonstrate that these are three entirely different narratives which are in no way dependent on one another are not convincing.⁴⁷ Thus, we appear to be dealing here with three versions of one common narrative. The task at hand, then, is to describe the nature of the relationship which exists between all three versions.

In the past this has usually been framed around the questions of the relative antiquity of each story, the mode of their dependence, and the establishment, through deductive reasoning, of an original account. Scholarly opinion has at times widely diverged on the answers given to these questions.

To the first of these, there are three main answers. The first is that, in general, A is the oldest form of the story, followed by B and C.⁴⁸ The second is almost the opposite: C has preserved the oldest form better than either A or B.⁴⁹ The third is an attempt to mediate between these two: in terms of content C is the oldest form of the original narrative core, but in terms of its transmitted shape, it is the youngest of the three versions.⁵⁰ Of course, some of the arguments used to support each position are more substantial than others. Unfortunately, there are occasions when nearly opposite conclusions are drawn from the same

⁴⁶ Gunkel conveniently lists some of these (p. 197).

⁴⁷ Keller, pp. 185-90. I find his reasoning from the outset to be problematical, in particular where he reduces the commonality between the stories to one motif (his "basic motif")—the lie of the hero, who migrates to a foreign land, that his wife is his sister (pp. 185-86). This, in itself more significant than Keller assumes, immediately shows a lack of consideration for other common elements in the stories. In addition, his distinction between this basic motif and various other (secondary) 'composition motifs' seems arbitrary.

⁴⁸ Gunkel, pp. 198-99; Koch, p. 123-25; Van Seters, pp. 175-83.

⁴⁹ Noth, pp. 103-06; Maly, pp. 260-61; von Rad, p. 271; and McKane, pp. 133, 164-65.

⁵⁰ Schmitt, pp. 143-49.

evidence.⁵¹ No one position is completely convincing, and the relative ease with which interpreters reach conflicting results itself shows the ambiguous nature of attempting to determine relative age.

As for the question of the manner of dependency, Culley has conveniently provided a summary of the two main positions. The first sees the differences arising in oral tradition whereby the three stories are oral variants.⁵² The second finds the differences emerging on a literary level; here the stories are the result of a literary redaction.⁵³ Certainly on the basis of his own research into the transmission of oral narrative, Culley is correct in finding fault with both positions. His offering of an intermediate one between them,⁵⁴ is an intriguing one. However, because of the lack of more research into this area, any more definite proposals and analyses will have to wait.

Finally, as for the question of an original version, and for that matter, its reconstruction, these same recent investigations into oral tradition reveal that, at least with modern empirical examples, there is no "original version." There is rather a certain basic set of narrative elements which are chosen by each story teller who then omits, expands or emphasizes particular segments of the story.⁵⁵ This would account for the differences (which at times seem so incongruous) as well as the similarities between each version. In addition, such a theory explains why scholars have all along argued, at least in certain instances, in contradictory ways. Whether or not these results from the recent study of the oral transmission of narrative meet in time with general acceptance among Old Testament scholars, they shed new light on some difficult form critical problems and serve to lead present discussion of the wife-sister stories in Genesis beyond some of the older approaches.

⁵¹ E.g., the "profane" character of C is taken to indicate its antiquity (Noth, p. 105) but also its late development (Koch, p. 124)

⁵² Culley, pp. 40-41

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ That is, of a literary composition which is close in style to oral narrative, *ibid.*, (p. 66)

⁵⁵ Culley, pp. 1ff., 39-41

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Educating for Moral Values in a Pluralistic Society

STANLEY S. HARAKAS

THERE ARE THREE ELEMENTS in the title: "educating," "moral values," and "pluralistic society." Each of these phrases presents a host of problems to us, while concurrently allowing us to get a hold on the issues involved. In the short time available, I wish to sketch some of the ambiguities and problems I see which are projected by the topic. In addition, I am going to venture a few suggestions toward a future national policy on the topic "Educating for Moral Values in a Pluralistic Society."

1. Ambiguities in the Element "Educating"

The first element is encapsulated in the word "educating." Here I see problems and confusion regarding the issue of who is doing the educating, who is being educated, and what is implied regarding methodology. Behind these is the question of who holds the ultimate responsibility for education in a pluralistic society. Who is doing the educating? In practical terms the agencies for educating persons, especially children, in the formation of moral values traditionally rested in the family and in the religious tradition to which the family belonged. In our country, the public school also became a major institution for the formation of moral values. Until a relatively short while ago, these three agencies served in a fairly coherent way to communicate the civic moral values of this society. Nevertheless, there have been some notable exceptions, which I will refer to below. All three, however, have lost much effectiveness in the recent years to new forces which have served as vehicles for alternative value sets. I speak of the impact on the formation of values by the media, and in particular radio, television, and motion pictures. A mighty struggle is presently in process, to answer the question, "Who is doing the educating?" regarding moral values in our society.

*Eighth National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations, St. Louis, Missouri, October 29—November 1, 1984.

The question, "Who is being educated?" is intimately connected to this issue. The traditional approach was that a society had as its intent to transmit its inherited moral values to the new generation, to its children, on the assumption that they are the continuators of that culture. In pluralistic societies, each group educates toward the goal of preservation and perpetuation of the group. Many, who belong to traditional groups, especially family-oriented religious and culturally defined groups, perceive today that they have been outflanked by forces intent on eliminating them from the pluralistic scene. Traditional moral values as held by family-oriented, culturally defined groups are on the defensive. In large part, groups perceive that today's public school values, and the values promoted by the media, do not reflect their moral values, but rather, a set of values clearly different. Those who control these educative means are seeking not only to "educate" children in this direction, but to "educate" the general populace, as well.

The "methodology" question is important. From what has been said so far, you should see clearly that I am not under the illusion that education in moral values is done primarily with textbooks and in a classroom. No, educating for moral values takes place in social and cultural interaction, in relationships of mutual dependence, mutual support, and mutual discipline. It is for this reason that historical groupings such as the family, and ethnic, cultural, and religious communities have a strong record of success in moral education. Because our society has so organized itself to weaken the influence of family, ethnic, cultural, and religious life, moral education in traditional values has become vulnerable to the use of public schools and the media to promote alien values, values which are precisely directed at breaking down the family through an untoward promotion of extreme individualism, a washing out of cultural and ethnic traditions, and a trivialization of religious belief and practice:

2. Ambiguities in the Topic Element "Moral Values"

As has already been indicated, I believe that the question regarding "moral values" is equally ambiguous and problematic. The assumption, in the way that the topic is presented, seems to be a communality of moral values which are somehow to be taught and communicated in our pluralistic society. I hold that this communality, in whatever measure it existed in the past, no longer exists, and that there are now several sets of moral values in our nation which stand in competition with each other, and which in some cases are other than complementary. That is, they are to be understood as mutually exclusive and contradictory.

But first there is need to clarify this statement by making an

important exception to it. Speaking out of the moral tradition of Eastern Orthodoxy, it seems evident in the long run, and on a quite elementary level, that every society needs to subscribe to a set of fundamental moral values in order to survive. The fact that all traditional societies have in fact accepted as their moral code something similar to the decalogue, indicates that there is a common, shared level of morality and moral teaching which all people can, and indeed, must in the last analysis agree with, teach, and practice on some adequate level. In the long run, to fail to do this is to threaten the survival of the society.

Yet, it is primarily within family, social, cultural, ethnic, and religious groupings that these elementary values, as well as the deeper, broader, and more humane values are inculcated and made a part of the personal value system of individuals. The *anomie*, moral rootlessness, and ethical subjectivity of the modern age is a direct function of an approach to life which emphasizes an opposite view, characterized by an excessive individualism: an individualism which has its source in an isolation from deep identities with close social and familial ties, and separateness from belief systems which in one way or another transcend empirical experience.

The change in values which takes place when we move from a familial, socially ordered, and ultimately religious perception of life to an individualistic, atomistic, and ultimately non-transcendent subjective approach to life is not one of degree; it is one of qualitative difference. I am suggesting that there is an invisible line running through our society, through every city, town, and village, between the traditional values of this society and the essential denial of those values. Further, I am suggesting that in many ways, our formal and media educational systems espouse the latter in contrast to the traditional values of our nation embodied in our inherited cultural, societal, religious, and ethnic traditions. In some places, of course, they agree and overlap. It is not a totally "either-or" moral situation. It is one, however, which reaches the point of severe divergence.

There is no way of getting a solution to the question of educating for moral values in a pluralistic society, unless this reality is acknowledged.

3. Ambiguities in the Topic Element "Pluralistic Society"

The third element of the title of this afternoon's plenary and general seminar theme is "pluralistic society." There is an important set of ambiguities here, as well. What, precisely, does it mean to refer to a pluralistic society? Now we know that there is a quite real sense in which our society has not genuinely been pluralistic. As the son of immigrant parents, I was taken into a public school system whose purpose was

to somehow "Americanize" me. Rather than allow me to be very comfortable with the Greek language of my heritage, I was discouraged from using it. English was imposed upon me as the common language of communication, to the exclusion of the language of my parents. I remember, as well, daily chapel services conducted in my high school, reflecting a religious tradition which was not mine. Sometimes, heritage was give a courteous 'tip-of-the-hat,' as somewhat 'interesting,' and 'quaint.' In spite of the real freedom I had to worship in my minority religion, to support and sustain language instruction in the language of my heritage, as a hyphenated 'ethnic American,' it was clear that I was culturally, religiously, ethnically, and socially marginal to the mainstream of American life. I believe that something like that had to happen in order to build the core of a national identity and culture. One of the things that made the situation tolerable, no, even desirable, and even eagerly espoused, was the sense that down underneath, there was a common and shared foundation. While the Protestants and the Roman Catholics in town did not celebrate Easter when I did, and while the Jewish celebration of Passover always had to come before my Easter and I was fully aware of the differences, I also shared in the understratum of what I can best call a shared system of moral values. Clearly there was a pluralism of various groups with which nearly everybody identified. Even my high school history teacher, who was not a church-goer, who was a real dyed-in-the-wool Yankee, who some claimed was an atheist, would visit my father's shop and share mutual concerns within what I now recognize as a shared moral vision. If pluralism is what I have just described, then America is no longer a pluralistic society. It has become something else.

Since I am in this autobiographical mode of expression, I would like to illustrate what I think has happened to this pluralism with another experience I had a number of years ago when I moved to a new city in the Boston area. One of the main reasons I moved there with my family was that the school system was extremely well regarded. My two oldest children were enrolled in the junior high school, and several weeks later we were invited to attend a meeting with their teachers. About ten teachers and administrators sat in a circle into which my wife and I were introduced. The leader then proceeded to describe to us our values: i.e., that we strongly espoused loyalty to close family life, a conservative sexual morality, religious traditions, particular ethnic loyalties and a spiritual outlook on life. My wife and I were then told that the purpose of the meeting was to tell us 1) that the school would not support us in those values, and 2) that the school was supporting a completely different set of values based on individual self-reliance and individual self-assertion.

Needless to say, I found this difficult to comprehend, and I only understood it when the conflict of ethical systems and outlooks expressed itself in the lives of my children. I eventually moved from that community to another where the values of the town's school system were more in line with our outlook on life, but serious damage had been done.

Now what is the point of all of this? It is that when we use the term pluralism, we have to be clear what we are talking about. We are a land of many peoples and heritages. On that level we clearly must maintain a moral stance which unexceptionally recognizes the fundamental rights of each to exist. Further, we need to respect the dignity of all persons and respect the integrity of the groupings to which we belong. Dialogue, cooperation, ecumenical sharing, the spirit of brotherhood are essentials. We teach those moral values of shared living in our nation not only at the dinner table in our homes, nor only in the classrooms of our churches, synagogues, mosques, temples, schools, halls, club-rooms, fraternal organizations, but on the streets and in the shops and factories of our nation as well.

We recognize that one of us ought not dominate and control the other groups, imposing particular values upon the others. Neither on the policy level, nor on the street level are racism, ethnic, and cultural bigotry, or religious prejudice tolerable. Yet, in the absence of some kind of controlling, larger vision for the nation, an extreme individualistic philosophy of life has captured a significant portion of the morality-forming and educating power in this society. It is a world view which, because it does not carry the name 'religion,' is given a freedom of influence which it could otherwise never have. It presents itself as 'neutral,' while in fact it has created a new kind of pluralism, one which replaces older forms of dominance with a totalitarianism of denial of traditional values, of religious identity, of ethnic and cultural loyalties. This is a radically new kind of pluralism; and it is being supported by a new misapplied, misconceived, and misstated policy which hands over to one world view the most powerful educative forces known in the history of the world, what amounts to a sectarian advantage over all the others. It is hard at work—almost totally unopposed and undefended against—to re-educate adults and children into a value system which in the long run is inimical to a genuine pluralism.

4. Suggestions Toward a Future Policy

At this time, I would like to list a few attitude changes and a few things which need to be done in order to assure a continuation of genuine pluralism in our nation. These are far from exhaustive, and far from fully thought out in all their implications. My main purpose

is to try to break a pattern of thinking which somehow grants a privileged position in our society to a philosophy of life which is proving more and more destructive not only to the religious, cultural, ethnic, and social groups in our society, but also to individuals. In the long run, I believe such a course of action is necessary for the stability and survival of our nation. I know what I am about to say is highly controversial, and that the immediate reaction will be to reject it. All I ask is for you to give it some serious thought.

Firstly, we must recognize that genuine pluralism requires the existence of identifiable and stable groups. Pluralism is not atomism.

Secondly, a policy genuinely supportive of pluralism of necessity will support groups in their effort to survive and communicate and support their values. Today, some groups receive such support, while many others are excluded.

Thirdly, we need to do a thorough reconsideration of what is meant by 'religion.' The agonizing struggle in our constitutional history, based on the desire of the nation to avoid the establishment of any particular religion as *the* religion of the state, has been transformed into a national policy against religion in general, and religions in particular, while it freely supports world views which, though not called religions, are actively opposed to religion. The supposedly neutral state thus acts in ways which are selectively weakening the pluralistic make-up of our society. Something similar, though to a lesser extent, has happened with ethnic and cultural identities.

Fourth, the subjugation of public school education and the media to one world view, to the exclusion of others must be broken if pluralism is to be maintained. Paradoxically, these powerful forces, in the name of individualism, have gone a long way toward homogenizing our society to the detriment of a genuine pluralism. Practically, this probably means that groups of students of like identity in each school be provided with solid educational support in cooperation with the community groups. Here and there we are doing things like this already, such as bilingual programs. In my mind, these are steps in the right direction. In other nations in the world, in the past and at present, groups are supported in this access to the educative process by the nation's organizational structure. Something similar needs to be done in regard to the media, though here I recognize even more formidable problems. In recent years I see movement in this direction with the "op-ed" approach. It has not, however, reached the more critical area of media programming.

In the last analysis, what I am saying is that "Educating for Moral Values in a Pluralistic Society" requires something very important. It requires that pluralism in fact be supported and not destroyed. For

pluralism to be supported, there is a need to recognize that today's America militates against the viability and continuation of the groups which make up our pluralistic society. But above all, the kinds of values espoused by a conference such as this, values which support genuine mutual respect, promoting true pluralism, supporting dialogue from positions of equality, need to be embodied in national policy, especially in relationship to public education and the media.

If I have provoked you to think about the viability of our pluralistic society with these few words, I will have accomplished my purpose.

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whole. They join the growing list of books by Paul R. Magocsi that have, so to speak, put Sub-carpathian Rus' on the map.

Father Evan Lowig

The Role of the Priest and the Apostolate of the Laity. Ed. N.M. Vaporis. Clergy Seminar Lectures. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press 1982 (1983). 63 pp. Paper. \$2.50.

Greek Orthodox Youth Today. Ed. N.M. Vaporis. Saints Peter and Paul Youth Lectures. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press 1983. 56 pp. \$2.50.

Leonidas C. Contos, 2001: *The Church in Crisis.* Patriarch Athenagoras Memorial Lectures. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press 1981 (1982). 52 pp. Paper. \$2.95.

The three publications being reviewed here have several things in common. They were all delivered as lectures at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School/Hellenic College in Brookline, Massachusetts, and they all address issues of primary interest and concern to Greek Orthodox faithful in their communities. They deal with real, pressing problems for all Orthodox communities within an American social context and at the same time seek a viable way of confronting those problems with an Orthodox response that preserves the integrity of the Orthodox Christian tradition and meets the challenge of modern American society. Each publication is colorfully produced and attractively printed.

The Role of the Priest and the Apostolate of the Laity deals with a crucial subject that needs constant emphasis and elucidation. After a foreword by Fr Miltiades B. Efthimiou and an introduction by Fr George C. Papademetriou—both of them very brief and concerned with expressing support for every reasonable means for increasing and improving communications between clergy and laity—Lewis J. Patsavos, a layman and Associate Professor of Canon Law at Hellenic College/Holy Cross, provides the first paper on “How Things Should be: Theological and Canonical Understandings” (13-23), which stresses that “Through the sacraments of holy baptism and chrismation, every believer partakes in the threefold office of our Lord as king, priest, and prophet” (14) and that “Ecclesiastical conscience, understood as the common mind of clergy and laity, is the sovereign authority in the Church” and “the ultimate criterion of ecumenicity” (15). Dr Patsavos sees a role for this “conscience” in the current preparation for the “Great and Holy Synod,” and he points to the episcopate as teacher and the laity as sharing in the guardianship of the faith. He asks for a definition of lay participation in the form of guidelines in harmony with the work of the clergy and on the model of the early Church. He believes that both clergy and laity must work together for renewal and revitalization of the Church.

“The Role of the Laity in the Greek Orthodox Church in the Americas” (25-38) by George J. Charles, a senior member in the law firm Charles, Karalekas, Becas, and McCahill and a member of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocesan Council, is an uninspired, pedestrian review and rehearsal of commonplace advice about community leadership, uniform parish regulations,

local laws and the church and committees—necessary perhaps for offering practical counsel on the efficient running of a parish—but with a primarily commonsense business perspective, while Denis J. Dragonas, Sales Manager of the Electronic Mailing Division of the Xerox Corporation, expresses his concern about the sharing of responsibility between clergy and laity; the involvement of interested members of the parish in the full range of activities necessary for the continued well-being of the parish; and the Orthodox Church's responsibility in acting and working toward the needed changes in society during the 1980s in "What's Really Happening? A Layman's Perspective" (39-42).

The best piece in the book is by Fr Stanley S. Harakas, of Holy Cross, on "Clergy and Laity in a Crystal Ball: Trends and Projections" (43-62). Fr Harakas expounds on the recent (1980) study *Ministry in America* as it deals with the Orthodox Church, finds that priests have a broader view and greater expectations of themselves than do the laity and sees "the Church as a Eucharistic community, and the sense that the Church is a body characterized by corporateness, community, and unity experienced in and by the Church" (49). Though he works out various scenarios for the future (status quo, "the Australian model," clericalism, laicism, one body in Christ), Fr Harakas opts for mutuality and the view of the Church as the body of Christ: "As a vision of the Kingdom, a reflection of the life in the Holy Trinity, an embodiment of the theology of Theosis, it would seek to be inclusive, embodying cultural and ethnic values, concern for the poor, suffering and deprived; it would reach out to others in mission and social concern for the public well-being of the society in which we live. Yet at its heart would be the commitment to *orthodoxia* in faith and worship, *orthopraxis* in life and ethos, *orthokoinonia* in parish life, and *orthokrisis* in our values and judgments" (58).

Greek Orthodox Youth Today, after a brief foreword by Fr. N.M. Vaparis, gives us three quite different essays, by a sociologist, a psychologist and a priest-counselor. Northwestern's Charles C. Moskos, Jr., in his "A Sociological Perspective" (11-26), in addition to providing a brief review of immigration patterns of Greek Orthodox to the United States and discussing the characteristics of the first, second, third and fourth generations and of the young generation of new Greeks from Greece, also describes the patterns of intermarriage and demography, the relation of Greek language to liturgy, the Greek Orthodox Church in America and Orthodoxy and Greek American Ethnicity, and concludes that "adaptation to American cultural patterns occurs much more than Greek traditionalists like. The other is that Greek Orthodoxy maintains its fundamentals much more than assimilationists think" (25); while John C. Papajohn, himself a Holy Cross graduate and now on the staff of the University of Massachusetts, in his "A Psychological Perspective" (29-36), shows the stress and conflict that result from young people who are socialized in Greek American homes (where the family is strong, "rural values" are still dominant and emphasis is on hard work and achievement) to outside American social forces that stress independence from the family as the foundation of success. Greek young people have a sense of who they are—which is not generally the case in the greater American society—and Papajohn indicates that "Psychologists are in agreement that we must reconcile ourselves with our individual as well as our collective pasts in order to be free to pursue productive and creative futures" (36). It is up to the Greek Orthodox young in the 1980s

to find a meaningful place for themselves in society that satisfies them socially, occupationally and culturally, according to Dr Papajohn.

Fr Constantine L. Sitaras' "A Religious Perspective" (39-56) draws on his experience as director of the Greek Archdiocese's Ionian Village Camp in Greece and his encounter as an Orthodox priest with the problems of young people. Anecdotal to a large extent, it emphasizes very much the importance of the notion of Christian family in a practical, human setting in which Christian nurturing of its young must be addressed and addressed lovingly but carefully.

Fr Leonidas C. Contos' *2001: The Church in Crisis*, originally delivered at the prestigious Patriarch Athenagoras Memorial Lectures at Hellenic College/Holy Cross, is certainly the most provocative of the publications reviewed here. Fr Contos has served parishes in Connecticut, New York and California, and as President of Holy Cross (1966-1971) has had a long involvement with radio and television ("National Radio Pulpit," "Frontiers of Faith"), and has been much honored for his eloquence. In the three lectures published here—entitled "The World Church: Guardian of Our Patrimony"; "The National Church: Authority and Leadership"; and "The Local Church: The Eucharistic Synaxis"—the author analyzes the impact of the crises of the contemporary situation on every aspect of the Orthodox Church. This is a critical analysis from one who is within the ranks and who has been within the leadership of the Greek Archdiocese. He sees failure all along the line and stresses the need for "restoration of the term 'orthodoxy' to its full meaning: as right belief *and* right glory, right doctrine and right worship" (13). He also sees the Orthodox as guilty of the sins of triumphalism, traditionalism and trivialism. Not the least of the crises in our day is, for Fr Contos, the crisis of canonical integrity. He questions the presence of an Ecumenical Patriarchate in an increasingly hostile Turkish Muslim environment, "hostage in that pitiful huddle of crumbling buildings, its freedom to function slowly and inexorably choked off, its waning strength sapped even further, its influence diminished and increasingly ignored, its institutions shut down, the Greek remnant totally dispersed and, worse by far, the possibility of recovering and restoring its true spiritual primacy possibly lost forever" (20). To some extent, Fr Contos finds so many of our crises precipitated by our own poor ability to communicate with each other internationally, nationally and locally. "Spiritual illiteracy" he especially finds in the local church—no less than crises in sacramental life, in personal piety, in theology, in identity, in language and in worship.

Fr Contos has very eloquently and even elegantly pinpointed the principal problems facing the Greek Orthodox Church in America and even in the world today. He has not provided any meaningful solutions to those problems in any detail, but he has suggested some courses of action that need to be examined; some that need to be answered by the hierarchy; and some that deserve to be categorically rejected. No matter what the responses, we should take Fr Contos at his word that "If these observations have seemed critical, I would hope they have seemed so in the spirit that 'crisis' by its very nature requires: that we be not judgmental but judicious, not self-righteous but self-examining. Saint Gregory Palamas, reflecting the Orthodox tradition, holds that the highest theology is the apophatic, that it is by the way of negation that we arrive more surely at the truth. I would ask that this effort be seen as a kind of apophatic approach to our common concerns,

taken in the hope that it will truly represent an affirmation of faith" (37).

Contos' 2001: *The Church in Crisis* is a smoothly written but powerful critique of the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States today. It is written from the point of view of a churchman whose four decades of service to the Church as an American of Greek origin have compelled him to speak out in language much stronger than would have been possible a decade ago.

All three of the publications briefly reviewed here will give the reader an excellent idea of the range, the quality and the tenor of the discussion going on in the Greek Orthodox Church in America about those issues now pressing hard upon the Church in the twentieth century.

John E. Rexine

Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press 1983). 377 + xvii pp.

Richard Smith, compiler, *A Concise Coptic-English Lexicon* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company 1983). 81 + xiii pp.

The Coptic language no longer exists as a living vernacular, surviving only in the liturgy of the Coptic Church. Since the eleventh century the Copts have used the Boharic dialect of Coptic; prior to that the Sahidic dialect was the dominant liturgical, literary and (in some areas) spoken language. These dialects, and others that never achieved the same literary and ecclesiastical prominence, represent the last stage of the ancient Egyptian language. Of course, Egyptian changed much in its four-thousand-year history. A pyramid builder of the early third millennium bc could scarcely have understood a Coptic speaker of the early Christian era. Even the system of writing changed. In Coptic the picturesque hieroglyphics of Egyptian gave way to the Greek alphabet, with a few symbols added to represent sounds not found in Greek. The subject matter and religious orientation also changed: the bulk of Coptic literature is Christian.

This review concerns two new books that were written to help those who do not read Coptic acquire enough facility in the language to gain access to its literature—particularly the writings connected with the rise of monasticism and the development of the monophysite movement. The first of the books under consideration is the *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic*, by Thomas O. Lambdin. Dr Lambdin is no stranger to the classroom nor to the writing of textbooks, being a professor of Semitic languages at Harvard and the author of a primer of biblical Hebrew. The present book gives us, for the first time in English, a really excellent textbook on the Sahidic dialect, a key with which to unlock the written remains of early Coptic Christianity.

The book begins with an "Introduction," which summarizes the origin, history and dialectic structure of Coptic and presents its alphabet, orthography and pronunciation, etc. The heart of the book is in the thirty lessons that follow. Each lesson discusses points of grammar, introduces new vocabulary and provides a set of exercises. Following the lessons Dr Lambdin has provided the student with an extensive chrestomathy on which to polish his proficiency in the language. The collection includes the first five chapters of

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REVIEWS

Homage to Byzantium. The Life and Work of Nikos Gabriel Pentzikis. By George Thaniel. Minneapolis: A Nostos Book, North Central Publishing Company, 1983. Pp. 155. \$15.00, cloth.

Somebody else, who is expert in modern Greek letters, should write a critical review of this book; I will only present it. Nikos Gabriel Pentzikis is very little known outside Greece, yet he is worth becoming well-known. Greek is not the language which can guarantee instant access and fame to a writer, unless someone like George Thaniel of the University of Toronto is willing to "invest" in him.

Pentzikis was born in Thessalonike in 1908. A pharmacist by profession, and a writer, artist, critic of the arts, theologian, mystic, idealist and social critic by nature and choice. He is the author of eleven books, three collections of poems, writer of numerous essays, translator of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* in modern Greek, a Byzantine work attributed to John of Damascus, and a painter of a small gallery of paintings! He represents that generation of Greek intellectuals who early in their life had to make a conscious choice between Marxism and "the Church," "church" meaning not merely the institution, but the living tradition and the ethos of Orthodoxy experienced and expressed by the people as a whole through the centuries. Pentzikis chose the latter.

Pentzikis never tried to contradict his opponents when citing examples of moral decline in the Church, lack of education among the priests, narrow, pietistic attitudes among the religious people—a perception of the Church that does not touch its ontological dimension, nor does it speak of its essence. He actually supported the critics by citing references to Byzantine sources providing similar manifestations of the Church of the past. For Pentzikis, however, the crucial question has always been whether the Church is not, like existence itself, a gift from above which humans (including priests and monks) will often spoil . . . (p.20)!

Thaniel sees similarities between Pentzikis and Plutarch, but especially between him and Byzantine theologians, historians and chroniclers "of the Golden Age of faith" (p. 117). From a long paragraph on Pentzikis' "Relationships with Other Greek Writers" (pp. 117-21), one can compose a litany of names with whom Pentzikis is in the same vein of tradition: Papadhiamantis, Karkavitsas,

Vlahoyiannis, Xefloudas, Alkis Yannopoulos, Dhelios, Yorghos Themelis, Vafopoulos, Vassilis Tatakis, Spandhonidhis, George Sarantaris, Stratis Doukas and the iconographer-writer Photis Kontoglou! But Pentzikis has his own identity. As Professor Savidis has written, "Most men spend their lives trying, consciously or unconsciously, to hide their uniqueness and become either 'like the others' or 'better than the others.' Instead, Pentzikis is one of the very few people who have devoted their lives to the effort of becoming more and more themselves, of gaining their souls" (p. 122).

One sees this devotion in his paintings and in his writings. His painting is what Thaniel calls "Europeanized Byzantine or Byzantinized European" (p. 38). For Pentzikis, the Byzantine iconographer is a martyr! Commenting on the icons inside the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike, Pentzikis described them once to Jacques Lacarriere as "the whirl of imagery, a controlled frenzy, the *stigmata* of a struggle between the monk-painter and the invisible world." In the icon "one must control, preserve, strangle the devouring devotion, the language of fire transmitted from a superior power; otherwise there would be no art, but chaos" (p. 40). In his writings Pentzikis wants to preserve and transmit the ethos of a meaningful and comprehensive "copying" which is neither of the past as such nor of anything foreign and fashionable, for either one's sake. Pentzikis, according to the 1963 Nobel Prize-winner Seferis, "must be accepted whole or not at all. He is an unusual type of writer who has read and assimilated a lot and has a 'scaffold of faith' which rescues him from dessication. His Christianity is spacious enough to include Homer and Pan, Saint Paul and the humblest monk of Mount Athos" (p. 60). Indeed, Pentzikis' inspiration seems to be nourished by sources close to his own home city of Thessalonike, the Palamite theology and the Athonite spirituality.

Thaniel has helped us to unlock Pentzikis' esoteric mind; a mind alert and searching, full of symbols and ideals drawn from the Orthodox experience and praxis: the calendar, the hours of prayer, the message of numbers, the mystique and ethos of the Orthodox saint, the silence, and the human sin and failure under the light of redemption. . . The author demonstrates a well-informed and sensitive appreciation of the treasure of Orthodox theology and spirituality and a remarkable familiarity with its sources and language which he uses with skill. The choice of the hero and the elaborate analysis of Pentzikis' religious and spiritual quest reflect, perhaps, Thaniel's own sensitivities. Thaniel has not simply attempted to make Pentzikis known to his readers. He has succeeded in depicting him as an attractive and inspiring master.

The message of the book is more than Pentzikis, the writer and the man; it is the "event" and the phenomenon that Pentzikis represents

which is, I think, immeasurably more significant: This "Pentzikis" raises the essential question of Greek cultural authenticity and autonomy; the matter of the uninterrupted continuity of the Greek identity; and the quest for its spiritual survival. The book, therefore, poses a most telling challenge to modern Greek intellectuals, at a time when the very fibre of the Greek cultural and spiritual identity is tested by iconoclastic platitudes, motivated by and serving political expediencies. This book is, undoubtedly, one of many contributions of the Greek diaspora to the modern Greek intellectual and spiritual renaissance.

Daniel Sahas
University of Waterloo

Scholars of Byzantium. By N. G. Wilson. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983. Pp. x + 283. \$27.50, cloth.

This most welcome volume should interest students and scholars of both ancient and medieval Hellenism, for its study of literature, history of education, book making, language script, and school curricula. It successfully synthesizes the efforts of Byzantine educated persons, who labored to preserve the texts of ancient Greece (archaic, classical, Hellenistic and Roman), apply to them methods of scholarship, and adopt them in the educational system of their own times.

Notwithstanding its economy in footnotes and bibliographical references ("an academic habit greatly overvalued"), the book includes an enormous amount of authentic scholarship. In thirteen comprehensive and tightly woven chapters, the author discusses the literary culture of Byzantium, its language, the place of ancient authors in its schools and Christian reactions to them; censorship ("rarely if ever existed"); its concern with the authenticity of texts, and other topics related to the fate of Greek literature from the end of the ancient world until its reappearance in Western Europe during the Renaissance.

Following a survey of the nature and the importance of several leading centers of learning during the proto-Byzantine period, such as Alexandria, Antioch, Athens, Constantinople, Gaza, the author devotes an illuminating chapter on the so-called "Dark Ages" identified with the period between the death of Heraklios (641) and the early ninth century. He demonstrates that those were not uneventful years for the history of classical literature, even though he agrees that the iconoclastic period was a setback. But his account of the process of transmission, the evolution and the types of script, the emergence of the minuscule and little-known writers such as George Choïroboskos makes the

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of opening Western minds to an important aspect of Eastern spirituality as well as illuminating it for Orthodox believers.

Jeffrey Burton Russell
University of California, Santa Barbara

Jesus in Focus: A Life in its Setting. By Gerard S. Sloyan. Mystic, Conn.: Twenty-third Publications, 1984. Pp. 212.

The present work by Dr. Gerard Sloyan is of great interest to teachers of religion and especially to those who are in a secular academic setting. Father Sloyan is a Roman Catholic priest of the diocese of Trenton, New Jersey. He is a well known educator who received the John Courtney Murray Award of the Catholic Society of America in 1981. He is well known for his many books, articles and lectures dealing with early Christianity, worship, and biblical studies. In view of the author's academic background, the present book is a product of his long experience as a professor both at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. and at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Professor Sloyan wrote this book to be used in a non-Christian academic discussion of Jesus. The purpose of the book is to offer honest discussion of the person of Jesus free of any post-New Testament influence. It was not written to be used as a seminary textbook but rather to create discussion and finally attain mutual understanding between Jews, Muslims, and Christians. The discussion takes place above an emotional and prejudicial plane. It was written with the goal to study the person of Jesus objectively. The book is about ". . . who Jesus was and what he stood for in the eyes of those who first believed in him, which is another way of saying from the viewpoint of the various evangelists" (p. 7).

Father Sloyan emphasizes in this book the point that Jesus was deeply rooted in the Jewish tradition and literature. "Nowhere does he repudiate Jewish peoplehood" (p. 44). And he emphasizes that, "he is identified as the man of good faith, whose personal holiness and teaching are irrefutable by anyone of good faith" (p. 45). Sloyan wrote a book on Jesus using a language to interpret the gospels to Jews and Muslims. He discusses Christian practices, rites, and history in terms that anyone outside the Christian tradition may clearly understand. One of the most interesting features of this book is the Islamic understanding of Jesus. The last chapter of the book is an excellent discussion on "The Jesus of the Qu'ran." This chapter is of utmost importance as background reading for any dialogue group seeking to bring greater understanding between Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

The attempt of Dr. Sloyan to communicate the Christian understanding of Jesus for Jews and Muslims today is an important task. The fathers of the Church communicated the message of the gospels to the Hellenistic world and similarly today we are challenged to communicate the gospel to our contemporary world. Father Sloyan states that:

The Christian Church has much work undone that lies ahead. It must expound the mystery of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit in a way comprehensible to the Jew and the Muslim, neither of whom think like a Greek or Roman. It must do the same for persons of India, of China, of Japan, of black Africa. It is a task well worth doing if Jesus is the man the gospels show us and if the Spirit of God is experienced at work in the world; . . . the Christian Church may also expound the mystery of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit to the satisfaction of its own members'' (p. 187).

This task is a challenge to all Christians who thoughtfully communicate the gospel message today. Father Sloyan succeeds in a most dynamic and articulate way to present his topic, Jesus, with zeal and enthusiasm to non-Christians and Christians alike.

The author fulfills the purpose of the book by articulating the Christian faith for today's readers. Dr. Sloyan provides maps of Jerusalem and Palestine as well as a list of basic resources, an index, and citations of the Holy Scriptures useful to aid the reader. I highly recommend this book to those who seek a greater interfaith understanding and an introduction to the message and work of Jesus in the society in which he lived.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

St. John Chrysostom: A Scripture Index. By R. A. Krupp. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1984. Pp. xv + 253. \$24.75, cloth.

The present handbook was written to assist historians, librarians, scholars, and students in their study of Saint John Chrysostom. The work of the great fourth century Christian preacher and Bible commentator is still used by many Christian scholars regardless of their theological tradition or denomination.

The present work is a welcome addition to the greater understanding of the use of the Bible by this famous preacher. Those who do research

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Liberation Theology and Christian Education Theory

FRANK MARANGOS

THE LAST DECADE has seen considerable development in Christian education. Gone are the days when it was invariably envisioned as an institution, a home, an educational system, a mission agency, or a school for Christian living. More recently, modern educators have examined a number of approaches through which Christian education may become a focus of involvement of all groups concerned with the shaping of culture and the reshaping of society towards humane goals.

In part, today's crisis in education was produced by a rapid development of technology, by rising expectations among previously submerged and oppressed sectors of the human community, by the changing values and priorities and by the global marketplace where divine-human movements and faiths have converged. While these approaches to Christian education are not exclusive of one another, they do illustrate how our contemporary scene has, in fact, contributed to shaping a more comprehensive and coherent theory for the practice of Christian education.

While none of these approaches can be found 'pure' in the Christian education practice, I will attempt to examine the consequences of liberation theology upon Christian education theory.

"Education is a human activity in the cultural order."¹ This is how education was defined in the final document of Puebla. Liberation theology, therefore, is currently proposing a new paradigm for education. The theologians of liberation have called fresh attention to the tension of future hope which they argue offers the guiding focus for our faith. This emphasis on the future is beginning to impact Christian religious education, particularly through the work of Thomas Groome. The basic issue arising out of this systematic theology is: How does

¹ John Eagleson and Philip Scharper, eds., *Puebla and Beyond* (New York, 1979), p. 251.

the religious community live in faithfulness to its past and in openness to its present and future? This raises fundamental questions as to how God is revealed and where the authority of the religious community lies. The questions in Christian education have been closely related to this. The questions concern what to teach, how and why. Is the content of Christian education the biblical and historical experience of the community and the world or the hoped for Kingdom of God? The desire to transcend the continuity/change dualism is not new in religious education. What is novel is the process by which and in which liberation theology attempts to enable this reality.

True liberation education in the churches of North America must, therefore, begin with a critical awareness that we are part of the world problem and that our experience is totally different from that of the oppressed people with whom this approach was generated. This 'consciousness' that the vast majority of us, who see ourselves as free, are really captives of the same structures and forces that cause the poverty and oppression we wish to eliminate is an essential element for liberation education. This development of such a new Christian consciousness, which will be aware of the global context of oppression, will lead Christians in constructing new faithful lifestyles. The very presence of liberation education raises again the classical conflict between the nurturing ministry of the Church and its mission and sacrificial service to the world. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that the liberation movement and its association with education emerged primarily in the Latin American context where oppression and poverty are historical realities, not ideas to be examined and debated. However, "If we can become aware of the social, political and economic systems that control our lives, we may then find ourselves on the same side of the struggle as those who are outcasts of those systems."² Liberation, therefore, is not merely another technique for education, but the manner by which man knows God. The hermeneutics of liberation education are "to love Yahweh . . . to do justice to the poor and oppressed."³ In short, "to know God is to do justice."⁴

The Greek verb, *hermeneuein*, often understood as 'translation' or 'explanation,' can also be translated as 'to proclaim' or 'to speak.' The hermeneutics of liberation then have to do with an education which stresses both proclamation as well as explanation. This double character, therefore, relates it to a traditioning community and to the education

² Justo L. Gonzalez and Catherine Gunsalus Gonzalez, *Liberation Preaching* (Nashville, 1980), p. 27.

³ Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (New York, 1973), p. 194.

⁴ Ibid.

which must necessarily be concerned with the community's expression and explanation of its faith. Hence, liberation education has its grounding in a dialectic ideology that reflects the actual experience of people who have never known any way of life but oppression. This is indeed the dialectical process which, for Asian theologians such as D. Preman Niles, "forms a new humanity in Christ . . . not just in the modern Asian revolution but as a continuous historical process coming from the past."⁵ The Christian story, therefore, must be "looked at from the perspective of the people."⁶ Few of us can comprehend its true nature of total oppression, much less identify with it. Hence, "they can become our teachers rather than we theirs."⁷

Educational theory and practice will be affected by this new direction of liberation theology. One particular aspect will be the degree beyond which individuals will be led from merely encountering the notion of liberation to a real engagement or involvement. "Theological education," writes J. Deotis Roberts, "needs insight from the other side of town and from the underside of history. It needs to be informed by the cries of the oppressed at home and abroad."⁸ "The God of biblical revelation is known through interhuman justice."⁹ For Gutierrez, liberation means nothing less than this: the capacity to express love. To be truly free is to live in God's love and this includes the struggle against all that hinders love. Hence, the starting point for an educational theory of liberation is its political-social rather than theological basis. "In this participation," writes Gutierrez, "will be heard nuances of the word of God which are imperceptible in other existential situations."¹⁰ What is new, therefore, is Gutierrez' understanding of praxis, the active hermeneutic of community, is in his distinction between a methodology and a methodology's frame of reference. Praxis, therefore, is the praxis of the poor. Unless we understand Gutierrez' theology in this fashion, liberation education can be co-opted into a non-threatening middle-class program.

There is certainly a need for a more critical awareness of the meanings represented in the way the people we teach approach the world. Such critical reflection will not arise from discussions about morality but from reflection on the praxis of morality. Gutierrez believes that

⁵ Kim Yong Bock, ed., *Minjung Theology* (Singapore, 1981), p. 11.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Gutierrez, p. 27.

⁸ J. Deotis Roberts, "Liberating Theological Education: Can Our Seminaries be Saved?" *The Christian Century*, Feb. 1983, p. 98.

⁹ Gutierrez, p. 195.

¹⁰ Ibid.

the Church's pastoral action, which includes education, should lead to a clarification of commitment and to the identification of those who are willing to share in the Christian praxis. Christian education, according to liberation theology, cannot, therefore, be neutral. Hence, one of the most significant commitments of Puebla is encapsulated in a phrase from Document 18 (the document on which Gutierrez worked) that the Church must make "a preferential option for the poor."¹¹ Liberation education must translate this phrase into a living reality. It presents, however, one of the greatest challenges the Church will face in our time. It must serve to help persons be critical of their commitments and separate those who are seeking a new awareness of the gospel for the world's oppressed from those who are Christians for the convenience of belonging to a social elite.

The liberation movements may be pushing North American educational systems within the Church to draw the meaning of the Christian way of life more closely to the kind of church 'ethos' that once characterized Eastern Orthodox communities in Europe. Hence, it is appropriate to quote another characteristic statement of liberation education from Puebla at this point. Education "should contribute to the conversion of the total human being—not just the inmost individual ego of the person, but also that person's peripheral and social ego."¹²

"Latin American dependency is not only economic and political, but also cultural."¹³ The 'key' for such a liberation process is in the words of *Populorum progressio*, a 'liberation education,' which for Gutierrez appears to be the "entering into the circle of charity which unites the three persons of the Trinity . . . to love God as God loves."¹⁴ In other words, 'knowing' is redefined as 'doing,' a stress on the communion and brotherhood as the ultimate meaning of human life.

Political theory is an ambiguous expression. Education which nurtures an individual's experiential consciousness, his political social ethos, is an alternative approach which takes into consideration the political dimension of faith and is, indeed, aware of the most pervasive and acute problems which man encounters today. Within such an approach Gutierrez asserts, "men are called together as a community and not as separate individuals to participate in the life of the Trinitarian community, to enter into the circuit of love that unites the persons of the Trinity."¹⁵

¹¹Eagleson, p. 127.

¹²Ibid., p. 252.

¹³Gutierrez, p. 109.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 198.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 110.

Liberation education might be defined as critical reflection on Christian praxis in the light of the Word. Henceforth, wisdom and rational knowledge have more explicatory ecclesial praxis as their starting point of departure and context. "It is in reference to this praxis," insists Gutierrez, "that an understanding of spiritual growth based on scripture should be developed and it is through this same praxis that faith encounters the problems posed by human reason."¹⁶

The 'sinful situation' of the exploited and oppressed "challenges all our practice, that is to say, it is a reproduction of the whole existing system to which the Church itself belongs."¹⁷ This challenge, however, must not be understood as merely an interior crisis, a private or individual problem. Sin is a social historical reality which is evident in oppressive structures, the root of a situation of injustice and exploitation. "In this anxiety and sorrow the Church sees a situation of social sinfulness."¹⁸

The purpose of liberation education must, therefore, include the humanization both of individuals and the society at large. Such education must, by necessity, be an ongoing process. It cannot be confined to the years spent in formal education. It must nurture the awakening of critical consciousness and the participation in the construction of a just social order . . . "to offer joyful proclamation to the poor as one of the Messianic signs of Christ's Kingdom."¹⁹

Liberation education, therefore, attempts to place its process within the dynamics of the historical current of humanity. "In this current," insists Gutierrez, "there is not only an effort to know and dominate nature . . . but also a situation which both affects and is affected by this current—of misery and despoliation of the fruits of man's work . . . a confrontation between social classes . . . a struggle from oppressive structures."²⁰ Liberation theology has made us aware of the fact that we can no longer think of sin in historical and abstract terms. Sin manifests itself in concrete political, economic, and social decisions, structures, and systems.

Liberation education, as we have observed, should "contribute to the conversion of the total human being—not just the innermost . . . but also that person's peripheral and social ego."²¹

¹⁶Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 175.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 174.

¹⁹Eagleson, p. 191.

²⁰Gutierrez, p. 174.

²¹Eagleson, p. 252.

Liberation theology is calling classical theological education to radical transformation . . . to accept the multidimensional implications of Christian faith. It is calling Christian believers to faithfulness articulated in justice. It does its work in the hope that "the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdom of our Lord . . ." ²²

Hence, such an educational hermeneutic "demands a kind of double personality" ²³ wherein our "consciousness must continue to remind us of evil from which we benefit while others suffer." ²⁴ We cannot escape the conclusion, however, that the Church, where the gospel places it unequivocally on the side of the oppressed, is usually ranged against the poor either in overt action against them, or in covert disregard of them under the banner of 'neutrality.' Our ability, therefore, to listen to these oppressed voices will challenge our complicity in such realities and demand that we repent, rethink, and regroup so that we can begin to embody a gospel that equates the knowing of God with the doing of justice. "The premises—that God speaks through the world's suffering," writes Harvey Cox, "that salvation and liberation go together, that knowing and serving the God of justice require a corporate response—are not only all soundly biblical but have already begun to inform an emergent consensus in the world church." ²⁵

When viewed from this perspective, lifestyle is a basic issue to be addressed by liberation education. Lifestyle, however, must encompass a larger manifestation than merely the personal dimension, the patterns of beliefs, values, and attitudes which can be described and characterized in the way a person chooses to live. Liberation theology creates an education which does not neglect the social and collective values and behavior that become the shared way of life for a group of persons. Hence, "the Christian message," writes Kim Yong Bock, "not only brought about personal spiritual transformation of Korean Christians but also provided the language to interpret the world and history." ²⁶ Liberation education must confront Euro-American theology, therefore, with the necessity of recollecting of the radically historical character of scripture. At every point in its development, it relates to God's action to human response in the context of particular situations.

²² Jesse Ziegler, "A Symposium Response to Theological Education and Liberation Theology," *Theological Education*, 16, No. 1 (1979) p. 21.

²³ Gonzalez, p. 27.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ziegler, p. 25.

²⁶ Bock, p. 103.

For example, "It is a way of saying," writes Gerald Anderson concerning the Critical Asian Principle, "that we will approach and interpret the gospel in relation to the needs and issues peculiar to the Asian situation."²⁷ Scripture is indeed the record of the acts of God, who was concerned and acted for their deliverance. Referring to the dynamics of preaching, Justo and Catherine Gonzalez underscore this fact by writing, "the more it can be shown that what is being emphasized by liberation theology is at the heart of the gospel . . . the more helpful it will be to the community."²⁸

As we have seen, discipleship is a necessary component of Christian understanding. The Christian message entrusted to the Church as the tradition of apostolic witness becomes meaningless unless handed over to the world as historic reality by messengers who live out its implications. "The bond between the neighbor and God," writes Gutierrez, "is changed, deepened, and universalized by the incarnation of the Word . . . Mt 25.31-45 is a good illustration of this two-fold process."²⁹ The gospel, therefore, as the proclamation of authentic existence, is also a message of hope to individuals who are persistently denied such an authenticity by the present world order.

Liberation theology places eschatological hope at the center of Christian education. "The primary mandate to be obeyed by respondents to God's kingdom is that we love God and our neighbor in response to God's radical love for us."³⁰

The Church must return to the essential eschatological nature of her faith and of her life. No theological reflection on the world will be of any help, no theological reflection will be, may I be so bold as to say, possible unless we rediscover that reality which alone constitutes the Church and is the source of her faith, of her life and therefore, of her theology. This reality is the kingdom of God. The Church is in *statu viae*, in pilgrimage through 'this world' sent to it as its salvation. But the meaning of this pilgrimage, as indeed the meaning of the world itself, is given and revealed to us only when the Church fulfills herself as being in *statu patriae*, truly at home at Christ's table, in his kingdom.

This precondition requires a radical rethinking of our theological enterprise. It is not enough to quote patristic sources to certify our theological position, for it is not quotations, be they scriptural or of other points of tradition, that constitute the ground of theology, but

²⁷Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky, eds., *Mission Trends III* (Grand Rapids, 1976), p. 25.

²⁸Gonzalez, p. 106.

²⁹Gutierrez, p. 196.

³⁰Thomas H. Groome, *Christian Religious Education* (San Francisco, 1980), pp. 49-51.

as we have observed from the liberationists, the *experience* of the Church herself. All this, in the final analysis, means a return to a 'historic faith' which has no other experience than that of the kingdom, one that is constantly moving towards God's future. "We must learn to claim our inheritance in such a way that it is a help rather than a hindrance in our march toward the future."³¹

Schubert Ogden argues that theologies of praxis are typically not so much theology as witness, "the rationalization of positions already taken rather than the process or product of critical reflection on those positions."³² Praxis viewed as a theological enterprise, therefore, offers an opportunity for disciplined reflection on the Messianic mission of the Church as it is actualized in the world. In turn, this enterprise defines Christian discipleship as the criterion which, though practical, is grounded in none other than contextual analysis. Thomas Groome's volume, *Christian Religious Education*, is a seminal work which presents a convincing case for the adoption of praxis as the norm for Christian education.

Since the decade of the fifties and despite certain achievements, the ample hopes for development have come to nothing. The marginalization of the vast majority and the exploitation of the poor has increased."³³ Likewise, Gutierrez believes that the kind of development that our own society has achieved is distorted. In his words, "since the supporters of development did not attack the roots of evil, they failed and caused instead confusion and frustration."³⁴

The optimism of the developmental theories have clearly been observed as unable to speak adequately about or to respond to the oppressive conditions of the great majority of Third World people. In these theories, salvation, for the most part, is confused with the First World or American way. These theories have unfortunately shaped the very horizon of meaning in terms of questions about ourselves, our world and our God. Development schemes in the past, for example, involved rich nations helping poor nations to get on their feet by financial grants, loans, or outright gifts. Seeking to accelerate such activities, the United Nations sponsored the "Decade of Development," but at the end the gap between rich and poor had increased. Gutierrez maintains that there is a relation wherein the rich get richer by exploiting the poor and keeping them that way. Development, in the final analysis,

³¹Gonzalez, p. 31.

³²Schubert M. Ogden, *Faith and Freedom* (Nashville, 1979), p. 33.

³³Eagleson, p. 279.

³⁴Gutierrez, p. 26.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 36.

is tokenistic, exploitative, and paternalistic. For Gutierrez, it is only within the broader framework of liberation "that development finds its true meaning and possibilities of accomplishing something worthwhile."³⁵ True freedom, true liberation, true development, which liberation education must espouse, must direct us, therefore, to the creation of a new man and a qualitatively new society. For this reason, Gutierrez and other spokespersons for the Third World have chosen to call the process by which it will overcome the oppression 'liberation' rather than 'development.' The Third World has no desires to imitate the institutions, values, or lifestyles of its oppressors. It understands its liberation in terms of freedom from the social restraints imposed on them by the First World, as well as freedom to create a qualitatively new order. In Gutierrez' words, "The liberation of our continent nears more than overcoming economic, social and political dependence."³⁶ For Gutierrez, liberation means, in a deeper sense, "to see the becoming of mankind as a process of the emancipation of man in history. It is to see man in search of a qualitatively different society . . . in which man will be an artisan of his own destiny."³⁷

Liberation education, therefore, aims at nurturing 'suspicion' about the common assumptions about the problems of oppression. In so doing, it can begin to analyze the roots of the problem by using the critical tools provided by the social sciences. As we analyze the roots of the problem, however, we should also formulate and identify specific instances of how those systems and ideologies actually contribute to the problem. After we have analyzed the present situation and clarified our views about its roots and our involvement in it, liberation education must reflect on the situation and our response to it in light of faith. This process is in fact what Juan Luis Segundo calls the 'hermeneutic circle' in which there are four basic moments. The final moment is "our new way of interpreting the fountainhead of faith (i.e., scripture) with the new elements at our disposal."³⁸ The pain and struggle of the hermeneutical circle is, in fact, the educational process of liberation out of which theology is done.

A theology of man is germane to our understanding the nature of the teaching process of liberation education. Religious educators in the early decade of this century developed a theory of teaching which assumes that man could be educated into the good life. The kingdom of God was confused with, as George Albert Coe once put it, the 'democracy of God,' a human possibility, if man could provide the

³⁶Ibid., p. 91.

³⁷Gutierrez, p. 91.

³⁸Gonzalez, p. 31.

proper kind of education. The God of Christian revelation, however, is a God made man. Hence, the famous comment of Barth, "Man is the measure of all things since God became man." "All of this," writes Gutierrez, "has caused the re-evaluation of the presence and the activity of man in the world, especially in relation to other men."³⁹ This re-evaluation has resulted in man's realization that his "freedom always implies the capacity to be (his) own person . . . to go on fashioning community and participation on the inseparable planes; our relationship to the world as its martyr, to other persons as brothers and sisters and to God as God's children."⁴⁰ Hence, liberation education must provide the process through which man can obtain a consciousness which "must remind us of evil from which we benefit while others suffer."⁴¹ Justo and Catherine Gonzalez are correct in asserting that our "tendency is not a duality, but as we have observed from Puebla, "three unsurpassable planes."⁴² The tendency to regard education, therefore, as a cure for social problems, based on the assumption that oppression and other social ills are due to individual failures, directed society to seek no further than improving the individual. By focusing on this single element, the systematic and structural roots of the problem went unnoticed. In the end, such educational reforms failed in their lofty goals because they were not accompanied by more direct and structural change. Without promoting structural change, liberation education can, at best, only change the cast of characters who occupy pre-existing numbers of positions on the top and on the bottom. Liberationists insist, therefore, that the liberation mode of education cannot be adopted to serve the current North American need for a renewal in Christian education. They believe that the question of church progress must be set aside until the future of humankind and the structures of human life are resolved. The Church cannot go about its usual work of nurturing a way of approaching life that reinforces the establishment and ignores the deeper longings of those who are denied their humanity, on either one or all three 'inseparable planes.'

Liberation theology, therefore, calls into question the very understanding of theology and of its function in Christian education. How are we to understand the problems of oppression and our educational response to it in light of faith? Gustavo Gutierrez argues that we should not fall into the trap of thinking about history on two levels—the supernatural and the temporal. There is but one history. "The God of

³⁹Gutierrez, p. 7.

⁴⁰Eagleson, p. 168.

⁴¹Gonzalez, p. 27.

⁴²Ibid., p. 28.

history," writes John Mbiti, "speaks to all people in particular ways. In Africa the traditional religions are a major source for the study of the African experience of God."⁴³ Puebla likewise asserts that "a secularism essentially separates human beings from God . . . it views the construction of history as purely and exclusively the responsibility."⁴⁴ Liberation education must, therefore, proclaim and reveal that Jesus Christ is "actively present in history" setting the Church "in a radical confrontation with the secularist movement."⁴⁵ This confrontation requires a commitment to become active in the transformation of the old order. Such transformation, according to Justo and Catherine Gonzalez, begins with oneself, by participation in the changes required by the new order. "This thought is essential if we are to see how liberation theology can relate to our preaching and to many of our churches."⁴⁶ People learn by acting critically toward the old order and by envisioning the new order toward which they move. Liberation education must serve to help us learn again the story of faith and to rediscover the heritage of Christians who gave all they had in order to serve the oppressed. This is one of the major tasks of liberation education which must "help congregations develop an awareness of how they are viewed by the powerless . . . to ask the question how would this biblical text be heard and applied authentically by someone in a radically different political and social setting."⁴⁷ Hence, central to a liberation approach to Christian education is teaching *this* gospel of 'Good News.' It is here that we will discover that we are delivered from dependency on the old ways and that we are free to move into a new way of life. "The political question is the first one that we must ask as we approach a biblical passage."⁴⁸ Hence, the message of the gospel is viewed by its very nature as a subversive message. This is what Richard Dickinson, Dean of Christian Theological Seminary, implies when he writes that liberation education's invitation "calls for a new reading of the Christian heritage from the underside of history."⁴⁹ The gospel's purpose is to challenge the status quo and establish a new order in its place. The life and preaching of Jesus, liberationists hold, continues the political activity of God in history. Jesus announces the end of the

⁴³ John Mbiti, "The Encounter of Christian Faith and African Religion," *The Christian Century*, August 27-September 3, (1980), p. 819.

⁴⁴ Eagleson, p. 183.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Gonzalez, p. 26.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 100.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴⁹ Ziegler, p. 31.

order—the end of all hatred and exploitation and proclaims its replacement by the creation of a qualitatively new order based on the values of love, justice, peace and freedom. Hence, liberation education in the local congregations, for example, will require a unique enabling style of leadership, committed to this concept of the gospel and to the belief that persons must and can come to a realization of the need for change. The biblical witness, therefore, is fundamental to liberation education, an unequaled source of concepts, images and modes of liberation climaxing in the supreme revelation of God in Jesus Christ, the Liberator. Personal experience, therefore, that “Jesus is freedom” is the task of liberation education. Only this can ultimately result in creating integrity for an educational theory of liberation all its own. Liberation education rightly calls the Christian community to identify with the crying needs of the oppressed. It will remind us that theology has a political dimension and teach us that word and deed cannot be separated, that our concern should be for social justice as well as personal holiness.

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Looking Toward the Twenty-first Century

ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

“We look for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells.”
(2 Pet 3.13)

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH CLERGY-LAITY CONGRESS is being convened in New York City, a microcosm in a real sense, in that it contains all the virtues and vices of the modern world. The people, its inhabitants, represent all the races on earth, all the cultural traditions, every ideology imaginable, all the revolutionary trends and movements, every form of anxiety and inequality, all of the world's religions, all of the generalities and particularities, and all of the human agonies and expectations.

The rays of hope, beaming from the bright sun above, would shine upon their countenances, dispelling all the dark clouds of fear, if only someone could convince them that the skies of heaven extend far above the city's towering skyscrapers, and that the immortal words of the prophets, “who spoke the word of God” (Heb 13.7) are far superior in wisdom to the words emanating from time to time from the United Nations. The people of New York, and together with them all the people on earth, are weary of the broken promises of politicians, social scientists, and the clergy, and they feel they have been betrayed and abandoned to face life's problems all on their own. It is for this reason that many people fall easy prey to the first empty promise made to them. But they soon discover they cannot move, like a ship that has run aground, helpless, left to the mercy of our turbulent society. Society feeds them narcotics so that they might forget their trials and tribulations, and in

Keynote Address given at the Twenty-seventh Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, held in New York City, 2 July 1984.

the last analysis, this road leads them into despair. The stage is now set for the consequences to follow, and these are usually crime or suicide.

If the Congress delegates fail to note this unspoken drama taking place in New York at this very moment, and cast their eyes only on the city's marvelous sights, then they have come here in vain. Just beyond those marvelous sights, the majestic skyscrapers of the city, a scaffolding is being erected to enable workers to repair the Statue of Liberty. If we pay close attention, we will realize similarly that our freedom, not only symbolically, but also in fact, needs to be reaffirmed and firmly supported if it is to last and not vanish from our lives. During your visit, you will have an opportunity to take a boat cruise around Manhattan. I would recommend that you try to get a glimpse of the city's inner life as well as an external view as an outside tourist. You will benefit greatly if you do.

You will gaze in wonder and amazement at the exquisite fireworks display that will illuminate the skies on the Fourth of July in celebration of our Independence Day. I hope and pray that it will be your desire to open your hearts in prayer on that day that our nation might forever be the land of the free and the home of the brave, according to the text of our national anthem. I hope you will not leave with only positive or negative impressions and opinions. Listen to the exhortation that is not being audibly heard about the confirmation of God's promise for "new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells." Only then will you return to your homes and parishes inspired and contented. You will return with a new vision and insight to help you see your inner self and the duties and obligations in which we share as members of the Mother Church, the Church of Constantinople, the Church which has suffered the greatest martyrdom.

The Congress agenda, the discussions to take place during the plenary sessions, the exchange of ideas and conversations taking place among committee members, the various speakers, the events, decisions and resolutions, wherein everyone has an opportunity to voice an opinion, will be of no avail unless they serve to deepen your understanding of our Congress theme. Nothing should be of greater concern to us than that. It would be unfortunate if we would concern ourselves only with ordinary, everyday, inconsequential matters, the kind that usually dominate the clergy-laity congresses instead of those which would serve to make our Church and our communities organically alive and viable. Even the topics which are more spiritual in nature: missionary work, religious education, sermons, spiritual renewal, stewardship, Greek education, youth programs, Byzantine music, church art,

architecture, the proclamation of our devotion to the Patriarchate and to our native land—these will all devolve into empty words and public statements unless we place them into a *realistic* framework and perceive clearly our own personal role in confirming the promise of God for “new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells.”

Confirmation of the Divine Promise: New Heavens and a New Earth

The Twenty-seventh Clergy-Laity Congress should concentrate on more essential matters and produce the kind of results that would enable us to proceed in the right direction as we chart our course to the twenty-first century.

Perhaps you are anticipating the dawn of a beautiful new day for the twenty-first century, and to see new heavens, so pure, so clear—and so high that even the polluted smoke from our industrial plants or experimental nuclear weapons cannot reach them; so high that no noisy threat of war and human suffering and tragedy can touch them. You may be waiting to see an earth that is so green, blossoming, cheerful, beautiful and new, that no hands would dare to defile or damage it; a sky that is transversed only by stars and birds of the air; an earth that is transformed into a true paradise with flowers and the fruits of human labor. Indeed your thoughts may surely be reaching the realm of dreams and the boundaries of the unattainable and the impossible—after experiencing the absurdities that made heaven unrecognizable and disfigured the earth upon which we live.

The journey to be charted by the Congress through its discussions, decisions and resolutions should be aimed at that new era. Saint Paul the Apostle, in his Epistle to the Romans, tells us how to bring this about: “Do not think of yourself more highly than you ought, but think of yourself with sober judgment” (Rom 12.3). This will make our life a life of moderation and our reasoning a logic of understanding. Only with this kind of logic, which does not *cloud over* so easily by insanity or disdainment, but is continually and abundantly illumined by the Word of God, would it be possible for it to dictate to us in detailed analysis the obligations we have as a church and individual believers as we look toward the twenty-first century.

We need to follow a sense of logic, like the Divine Word, that will illumine our life and make it “a light of men” (Jn 1.4)—the kind that will shine so brightly that seeing it, people will by their very actions “glorify our Father who is in heaven” (Mt 5.16).

Deeds such as those conveying the glorification of God’s holy name to the lips of others, and especially to our children and those who will record our history in future years to come—deeds and acts that are basic

to our very existence—have certainly existed in abundance until now. I shall refer to them briefly, because while I consider them important, I believe that they need to be fulfilled or perfected, or rather, that they need to be continually fulfilled, “until we all reach unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God and become mature, attaining the full measure of perfection found in Christ. Then we will no longer be infants, tossed back and forth by the waves, and blown here and there by every wind of teaching and by the cunning and craftiness of men in their deceitful scheming” (Eph 4.13-15). What I shall refer to briefly are the following:

- 1) The restructuring of the Archdiocese with the creation of dioceses to more directly and effectively serve the needs of the communicants in each region, which was effected by the Ecclesiastical Charter of November 1977, and which was issued by our venerable ecclesiastical center, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, following consultations held between members of the Patriarchal Canonical Commission and the Synodal Commission for Metropolitanates located abroad, and members of the Archdiocesan Council;

- 2) The revision of the Uniform Parish Regulations in accordance with current needs and recommendations to make them more effective, an action deemed necessary and which was ratified by the clergy and parish councils of our communities at previous clergy-laity congresses;

- 3) The advancement of the academic standing of our Holy Cross Theological School and its recognition as being equal in rank with the theological schools of the universities of Athens and Thessalonike and the Theological School of Chalki, signifying thereby the high level of theological and liturgical training that is being provided for our future priests;

- 4) The establishment of a four-year undergraduate liberal arts college (Hellenic College) in Boston which has been fully accredited and officially recognized by institutions of higher learning in America, which provides a general, overall education for its graduates in preparation for the theological school and in several other fields.

- 5) The elevation of twenty-five day schools to Greek-American junior high schools and two junior high schools into full senior high schools to provide high quality education for our children and enhance their identity and consciousness as Greek Orthodox Christians;

- 6) The formation of summer camp programs in all of our dioceses, plus the Ionian Village program in Vartholomio, Greece, providing thereby an excellent opportunity for the youth leaders of our Archdiocese to establish bonds with youth program leaders of the church of Greece. Furthermore, the encounter in Greece of priests and teachers

from both countries will enable both groups to become well-acquainted with the church's educational programs and related activities in both countries;

7) The fulfillment of expectations centering around the task and mission of our church through the establishment of the Saint Photios Shrine in Florida, which will also serve as the missions office and the Archdiocese's center for training missionaries;

8) The organization of special offices and departments, e.g., philanthropy, youth, education, religious education, communications and public media, book-publishing and the press, architecture, music and the arts, to elevate the spiritual consciousness of our fellow human beings;

9) The expansion of our ties with other Orthodox churches, to facilitate the future possibility of full unity of all Orthodox groups in America under the guiding leadership of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Mother of all Orthodox churches;

10) The formation of a special office of Interchurch Relations (Ecumenical Office), whose responsibility is to coordinate the participation of Orthodox theologians in bilateral dialogues and other ecumenical activities for the purpose of fostering greater understanding and enhancing the cause of unity;

11) The creation of a special office to deal with matters affecting the relationship of Church and society, and particularly in areas where current human behavior conflicts with accepted moral standards, and traditional values are being threatened by new moral viewpoints and radical movements;

12) The establishment of a special department concerned with human social and civil rights, as well as the national and historical rights of people who are suffering oppression because of high-handed acts, greed, and expansionist policies.

All of these will prove to be of no value unless they are given an opportunity to expand and properly serve their purpose, and are given a new breath of life. Their future growth and activities need to be examined in terms of anticipated needs for the twenty-first century. For this reason, I strongly recommend that the following topics be given serious and careful attention. They are topics that will bring nearer the day in which new heavens will stretch forth over the human race and before them will lie a new, more beautiful earth, bearing forth its abundant fruit resulting from the care and attention given by all of us acting and serving responsibly as ecologists. These important topics are:

a) Our common, united effort for the preservation of our faith, our language, our religious consciousness, our cultural heritage and our two-fold historical legacy;

b) Our collective mobilization, responding whenever the need for joint action arises, in matters regarding civil and human rights, as well as the moral and civil rights of nations, which is both a divine and human command;

c) Our recovery from a lethargic state in the secularization of our religion, which has come to be understood mainly as a set of rites and services being conducted as though in another age, without daring to experience it more deeply in its true spiritual sense and reality;

d) The awareness of the importance of our ultimate task and mission, which has been oversimplified with the construction of churches, schools, community centers, and summer camp programs, an achievement to be sure for which we have a right to be proud, but only insofar as such achievements serve our ultimate mission;

e) The revival and renewal of our lives as Christians, which are both our duty and our concern, through the constant study of Holy Scriptures and our liturgical texts, and through prayer—the kind of prayer that would help us return to God and build the Body of Christ—and by a true and proper lifestyle according to the traditions, the teachings and canons of the Church, and the lives of the saints;

f) The establishment of a program to translate and publish sets of theological books presented in a style that can be easily read and understood, which is not now readily available for the contemporary Orthodox Christian;

g) The modernization of equipment and full utilization of the mass media—radio and television, and the production of high quality cassette and video-tape programs—to enable the Archdiocese to send the message of the Church to all parts of both continents;

h) The reorganization of the religious and Greek education programs to include new areas and activities aimed at informing all of our people, regardless of age, about the moral and doctrinal teachings of our faith;

i) An awareness of the fact that our parish affairs and activities are enhanced more easily when the approach taken is within the context of a Christian thought and perspective;

j) A study of improved and more effective ways to help our communicants into a more active life within the parish;

k) The need to define our church's position regarding controversial issues and problematic situations stemming from mixed or fictitious marriages or the practice of co-habitation by unmarried couples;

l) Our church's position on issues as:

—the legalization by the State of certain birth control methods and abortion;

—the ban on prayer in public schools;

- the unfounded and false theology about the gender of God; the demythologizing of holy Scripture by replacing its authentic message and meaning with contemporary, stylish phrases;
- the confusion of social and moral issues with politics, by trying to pass legislation pertaining to those issues;
- the condemnation of nuclear armaments and the arms race;
- the realization of the fact that there is widespread physical hunger and starvation, as there is hunger for justice, a deprivation of life's essential needs, as well as an abridgement of political and religious freedom and a recognition of our duty and responsibility as a church to speak out on these issues;
- the use of terrorist tactics as a legitimate means to counteract social and civil inequality and injustice; and
- a moral behavior as a new set of ethics.

Spiritual Renewal as a Journey Toward New Heavens and a New Earth

In dealing resolutely with the above topics on all levels—the Archdiocese, the dioceses and the parishes—our Church will be assuming its role responsibly and realistically in raising its spiritual and moral stature under new heavens and charting a course toward “a new earth in which righteousness dwells.”

The way upward and in outward directions implies that we are leaving behind us the waste and mire of materialism into which we have submerged our mind and body. We are human beings, fashioned from the dust of the earth, and as Saint Paul writes to the Christians in Corinth: “As was the earthly man, so are those who are of the earth” (1 Cor 15.48). And he alternates that unflattering description with a word that sounds slightly less ill-sounding; “a man without the Spirit.” Listen to what he says about the “man without the Spirit,” and then judge for yourself which of the two you prefer. Saint Paul writes: “The man without the Spirit does not accept the things that come from the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him, and he cannot understand them, because they are spiritually discerned” (1 Cor 2.14). Is it possible that this description might also apply to us? Is it possible (and what a good fortune it would be) that each one of us would suppose that he or she is under spiritual examination? It would be a credit to us if we reacted vigorously and set our targets to reshape our current interests and activities and make them more spiritual in nature. We would be denying the truth if we tried to state that there is a sufficient number of people who want to shake off the burden of secularism to breathe freely an unpolluted atmosphere under clear skies. No one, however, is showing them how to stretch their arms to heaven to inhale

the living breath of God and become "a living breath."

This makes it more imperative for the Church to assume its duty to prepare for action and reach out to the people of the world to help them become "living souls."

The first to sense this need was Socrates, living before the appearance of many of the Old Testament prophets, and long before the Apostles and Evangelists of the New Testament. His is much more specific in his admonition to his students: "You will continue in your slothfulness unless God sends someone to awaken and take care of you." His words reveal his anguish for earthly man. The psalm-writer David reveals his anguish when he refers, as in Psalm 50, to "a pure heart" and "an upright spirit." Christ put these words into effect when he described his mission as a mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel and to the publicans and sinners, as he noted specifically that "they are entering the kingdom of God ahead of you" (Mt 21.31).

Saints Peter and Paul made special note of this and the imperativeness of renewal. Peter reminds us, "What kind of people ought we to be? We ought to live holy and godly lives" (2 Pet 3.11). Paul addresses a question to the Christians in Rome: "Or don't you know that all of us who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? . . . in order that, as Christ was raised from the dead . . . we too may walk in newness of life" (Rom 6.3-4).

Nevertheless, we consider the need for renewal to be of secondary importance and we continue to conform with the world in contradiction to the teaching of the Church and the requirements of the Christian conscience, as expressed in another passage from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "Do not conform any longer to the pattern of this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind" (Rom 12.2).

We will be able to look for new heavens and a new earth, as God has promised, only when "we are being renewed inwardly day by day" (2 Cor 4.16). Each day, and increasingly more on each day, by setting our sights on "the new creation in Christ," which comes "from God, who reconciled us to himself through Jesus Christ and gave us the ministry of reconciliation" (2 Cor 5.17-18) will it be possible for this to happen. The ministry of reconciliation, to which our church is committed, would serve as nothing else would in achieving the goal of renewal, by separating us from "the world" and our enslavement to it, and by leading us to freedom as the children of God through "adoption."

Having analyzed in biblical and theological terms the meaning of "We look for new heavens and a new earth," it is time to examine this from our present perspective—having gathered at this Congress as individuals, parishes, dioceses and as an archdiocese. Let us see if we are armed and prepared with a desire and will power to make our

Congress' eschatological theme a practical one so that it might be widely and thoroughly discussed in this gathering. Bearing in mind the forthcoming third millenium, the Congress calls upon us to pay careful attention to the question: In what sort of a situation will we be when the twenty-first century arrives? Will we be alert, spiritually prepared or will we be caught off-guard, slothful, and too weak to cast off the old man "with his passions and desires" and don the new and "live by the Spirit and keep in step with the Spirit" (Gal 5.24-25)? We have had more than enough of the slow, heavy push and drive that is so typical of the way we act and behave in reaching a major decision. We have had more than enough of the whirling speed and pace which are subjecting us more and more to the powers and principalities—not of the Kingdom of God, but "the powers and principalities of this dark world" (Eph 6.12).

Our Journey Toward the Twenty-first Century

We Greek-Americans identify ourselves as heirs of the wealthiest inheritance the world has ever known—a spiritual legacy—a legacy of learning, art, culture, scientific and theological research and holiness. We are the direct descendants of those who lived the Christian faith and experienced the Christian martyrdom and witnessing as a personal life experience and activity.

We have all dedicated, if I may use this lofty term, our past twenty-five years from 1959-84 to forging a path and journey of the kind I have just described. I will not try to describe those years in any other way. I do not believe it is necessary because most of you have lived those twenty-five years as fully as I have and are fully cognizant of the situation.

We have journeyed together. You are fully aware of this from your own experience and from the pace and the direction we have taken. Each time that I tried to take a bold step forward, I had the impression that I was responding to your wishes. What would you have gained from a comparison of statistics on the countless thousands of miles I traveled following an endless journey? What benefit would it be to you if I reported how many church cornerstones I placed or how many churches were consecrated in all those years? You are aware of all this because you experienced all these events. What benefit would it be to you if I enumerated all the liturgies I conducted, the number of sacraments I performed, the number of services I attended, the number of times I appeared as your representative at official church, state and federal events and programs? What would I be offering if I told you how many deacons, priests or bishops I ordained, or if I informed you

about the various recommendations that were made for the establishment of dioceses? What would you gain from knowing how many students graduated from our schools, how many graduates at St. Basil's Academy I congratulated, how many athletes I praised, how many students completed their courses at Hellenic College and the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology or how many teachers, professors, politicians, scientists, entrepreneurs, laborers and parents stood by my side in the past twenty-five years?

I would be giving you a report about the things that *are* new, if I included here the formation of new departments in the Archdiocese, including the reorganization of our administrative system, the various occasions on which our Church was given official recognition as a major faith, and expressed its own viewpoint on human and civil rights, or the various times it raised its voice about issues concerning Cyprus, Northern Epiros, Vietnam, the Middle East, and the long search for peace?

To what degree or extent would I have been able to change anxiety into a sense of security, or injustice into a call for justice without your help and support? I won't add anything further, neither in the form of a question or an answer. In our journey (and it is a journey), as we are told by the Risen Christ "Go forth . . .," we need to be spiritually renewed if we expect to continue on the way. This is why I asked you in a series of questions to follow along on the path to the twenty-first century. I feel it is necessary at this point to return once again to the course we have been following in our journey.

"Forgetting what is behind," according to Saint Paul, ". . . and straining toward what is ahead, I press on toward the goal . . ." (Phil 3.13-14). What you and I are pressing on toward, and we all hope we will achieve our goal, is to set before us the proper guidelines and destination in our journey, indeed in the Church's journey, by setting aside all obstacles, every form of internal and external reaction in opposition. This will enable us to press on toward the goal "to win the prize from above" (Phil 3.14). Let us not waver in our efforts.

Let us never falter in our journey. We need to take another look at ourselves and in a very scrutinizing, objective fashion. We need to be inspired from within to move us forward from our present position. We need to embark in an upward direction. We have spent too much time and energy on mundane matters—on financial, administrative and parochial matters. It is time we stop conforming ourselves to the world and its secular demands, and it is time we stop imitating its form and style. The time has come for us to trample down the world's heavy footsteps, which have chained us down to the earth. It is time for us to extricate ourselves from organizational issues and the endless

discussions they evoke. It is time for the renewal of our mind, time to allow it to function more in accordance with its principal purpose—which is to seek the truth. The ultimate truth lies beyond today and tomorrow, and most assuredly our confused understanding about our religion, its doctrinal and moral teachings, and its canons and tradition. The truth is that “God is spirit and his worshipers must worship him in spirit and in truth” (Jn 4.14-25), and this, by living our faith every moment of our lives.

In proclaiming this truth, namely, the need for re-examination and renewal of our religious life, this Clergy-Laity Congress must speak out and reach proper decisions. We need to deepen and expand our religious education program. We need studies and seminars to enlighten and explain clearly where we stand on topics pertaining to religion, the Bible, and our ecclesiology and theology. Such seminars and studies should be able to provide the kind of depth and importance they deserve. An educational program as this, accompanied by a conscientious and deep experience of meaningful worship, which is our Liturgy, would lead us to a renewal of the mind and the transfiguration of our formalistic way of worshiping. This is what is expected from one who is a new self and knows “what is the will of God, what is good and pleasing and perfect” (Rom 12.1).

Religious education can and should be our “daily concern” (2 Cor 11.28) at this Congress. It should be the principal concern of all of us, and especially the clergy. It should be pursued zealously and responsibly. We cannot speak about national ministries if a ministry does not take into consideration every single human being—to inform the uninformed, to make the indifferent person religious in his outlook, and transform into a zealot one who derides all that is sacred and holy.

Before us lies the way to Emmaus. It has not been traveled since the time of Christ. We are in great need of meeting and talking with Christ. Let us go forth now and become “travelers on that same day” (Lk 24.13)—if indeed we wish one day to say to one another, “Were not our hearts burning within us while he talked with us on the road and opened the Scriptures to us” (Lk 24.32)?

There are sixteen years left before the twentieth century draws to a close and we reach the dawn of the twenty-first century. I sense deeply within myself that the twenty-first century will not tolerate the lukewarm person, one whose heart is not burning.

A heart that is fervent in faith, love and optimism will illumine a human being and dissolve the rockets and missiles of hatred. A heart as this will transform fires into ashes—the flames of war that are being unleashed by the earth’s tepid superpowers in the clashes and wars with one another.

The twentieth century witnessed and heard a number of false prophecies: 1) that God is dead; 2) that Christianity reached and passed its apex; 3) that we are living in a post-Christian era; 4) that the time has come for the world to adopt a new theology—the theology of liberation; 5) that the black theology of today is the result of a bankrupt white theology; and 6) that the revival of Christianity will begin in the Third World. False prophecies as these were also heard in ancient Israel, for example, by the crowds gathered on Mount Carmel that Ahab encountered. I am of the opinion that the twenty-first century will not tolerate false prophets. It will reject them as Elias the Prophet did when he asked: “How long do you mean to hobble, first on one leg, then on the other” (3 Kg 18.21)?

The kind of Christianity that does not possess the courage to follow closely behind God, preferring instead to follow the false gods of the earth, will neither move forward nor ever reach the twenty-first century. And while we move forward to the next century, with the Apostles Peter and Paul by our side, with whose feast day commemoration we began this Congress and the final sessions of the current Archdiocesan Council, let us try to perceive how the two Apostles would view the twenty-first century.

Saint Peter, the chief of the Apostles, urges us to examine it through a crystal prism revealing a development wherein Christian introspection will encounter piety. On the other hand, Saint Paul, the first after Christ, advised us that since “we are not competent of ourselves to judge anything we do, but our competence comes from God” (2 Cor 3.5), we ought to face the twenty-first century in the light of the truth that is revealed in Christ, “commending ourselves to every man’s conscience in the sight of God” (2 Cor 4.2).

Gazing into the future cannot be accomplished by looking into a magic crystal ball or listening to so-called expert analysts of the signs of the times. It can only be ascertained through a mind enlightened by the Holy Spirit and with a heart made fervent by the light of the brilliance of “the knowledge of the glory of God” (2 Cor 4.6). Only in this way will we be able to comprehend the “new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells” in its full understanding—which is not only eschatological but also existential, in view of the fact that it concerns our continued existence on this troubled planet—a planet burdened by sinfulness, flooded to its very core with the sweat of hard labor, the tears of pain and suffering, and the blood of martyred people.

Our planet is also overburdened with polluted skies, acid rain and smoke billowing out of our factories and mills and the menacing threat of death that arises like smoke from experimental nuclear explosions. The earth’s rivers, lakes and seas may very well become void of all forms

of life, whereas it has always given life to all of nature. Our unfortunate planet will never understand how our scientists have even permitted it to continue moving in its own orbit, in view of the fact that they have already begun looking into the possibility of inhabiting other planets.

And what about us? Destructive in our greediness, our consumption and wastefulness, we are being lured into the path of evil, having neither the strength nor the will power to stop or curtail our actions and change our ways. Everything—without exception—what is painful, sinful, and repentful—now, as in the time of Saint Paul, may be compared to a creation that “has been groaning as in the pains of childbirth right up to the present time” and “sharing in eager expectation for the sons of God to be revealed” (Rom 8.22 and 19). Given the present situation in the world, can we really expect that the sons of God will be revealed? Who are they? Where will they be found? Where will we encounter them? Is it possible that we will meet them in the twenty-first century?

At one point I made note of the analysis and examination of our theme, that the twentieth-century man selected the earthly, the carnal, the sensuous—the kind of person who thinks that the real knowledge is foolishness—the person who abhors and yet derides the notion of a “spiritual man.” But if this is the case, then how can we see beyond the remaining sixteen years of this century, through earthbound eyes of the flesh to catch a view of the coming twenty-first century? If it is so, upon what do we base our reasoning and our expectation to see new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells? What have we done or what are we doing to prevent or hold in check the awful day that is coming? Saint Peter tells us in his epistle: “But the day of the Lord will come like a thief. The heavens will disappear with a roar; the elements will be destroyed by fire, and the earth and everything in it will be laid bare” (2 Pet 3.10).

Glancing ahead somehow to a desolate land and total destruction, we have begun to give serious attention to ecology—to care for nature. But we have converted this field of activity into sheer politics. We are still thinking about when or how we will legislate its application. We have even considered peace as the only hope for continued life. But we identified peace with armistice, and in reality, an armistice serves only as a recess for the preparation of another war or confrontation. Others transformed peace into an outcry, a protest, a civil disobedience, mass meetings, a march for peace, and at the same time they were crying out for a nuclear freeze and the prevention of the deployment of nuclear weapons. We have never advocated true peace as our main pursuit in life. Perhaps we did perceive the notion of peace in its true con-

text, but we never accepted it as the composite of truth and justice, as the Psalmist David perceived it centuries ago, when he wrote: "Mercy and truth now meet, righteousness and peace now embrace" (Ps 84.11).

This Clergy-Laity Congress, the twenty-seventh Congress, calls us to radically change and re-establish our entire religious perspective—in terms of our personal, family, parish and ecclesiastical life. If the common expression "we have come of age and reached maturity" is even just partly true, then let us find the strength within us to change the course of our life and conversation, and even more, our relationship with God. If this be true, as we wish, then we may be able to ascertain through action and deeds that we have attained the full knowledge of our faith in the Son of God, and each of us would come to the realization that we have become "mature, attaining the full measure of perfection found in Christ" (Eph 4.13).

Only by a spiritual ascent of this kind could we ever hope to one day reach the end of the twentieth century and come to the realization of our dreams and aspirations and our expectations for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells. God's promise will stand firm. He himself said: "I am making everything new and these words are trustworthy and true" (Rev 21.5).

It will be a blessing for us to live and experience that great joy, that sublime gladness and that day of salvation. I hope and pray with all my heart and soul that this will come to pass. Please believe that I have tried with all my heart and soul to be of service to you and to help you to see those new heavens and a new earth. May God, in his infinite mercy, bless you—with the glorious fulfillment of his promise of "new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells."

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MEDIEVAL ROYAL TOMBS IN THE BALKANS: AN ASPECT OF THE 'EAST OR WEST' QUESTION

Slobodan Ćurčić

NOTHING ILLUSTRATES the turbulent path of history in the Balkans as eloquently as the eradication of certain types of historical records. Medieval royal tombs constitute a conspicuous category of historical monuments which have suffered nearly total obliteration. Without exaggeration, it may be stated that *not a single* medieval royal tomb from the Balkans has survived in its original state. This drastic fate becomes all the more revealing if contrasted with western Europe, where scores of royal graves, tombs, and mausolea are remarkably well preserved.¹ Paradoxically, partial responsibility for our ignorance of the subject matter rests with the archaeologists and scholars who conducted pioneering studies on regional monuments of medieval architecture. Of the innumerable published church plans which were based on these studies, for example, very few indicate locations of tombs, not to mention any details associated with their installations.² Only in recent years has the surviving material started receiving the archaeological attention it deserves.³ Such efforts, however, remain isolated. General

This paper was read in a slightly different form at the Ninth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference; cf. *Ninth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers*, November 4-6, 1983 (Durham, North Carolina), p. 63.

¹ Kurt Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin and New York, 1976), offers an overview of Medieval tomb sculpture in Western Europe. Royal tombs are discussed according to their type along with other tombs.

² A notable exception in the literature published before W. W. II is Vlad[imir] Petković and Dj. Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, 2 vols. (Belgrade, 1941), with exemplary attention paid to the tombs and elements of church furniture.

³ An important pioneering study is Slobodan Nenadović, *Dušanova zadužbina, manastir Svetih arhandjela kod Prizrena* (Belgrade, 1967). Other relevant studies of the Serbian material include: Mirjana Ljubinković, "Arheološka iskopavanja u Davidovici," *Saopštenja*, 4 (1961) 113-22; Olivera Marković, "Prilog proučavanju arhitekture manastira Sopoćana," *Saopštenja*, 8 (1969), 93-99; Mirjana Šakota, "Prilozi poznavanju manastira Banje kod Priboja," *Saopštenja*, 9 (1970) 19-46; Branislav Vulović, "Da li je Vuk bio

overviews of the material are few, and they reveal the rudimentary state of knowledge on the subject.⁴ A comprehensive study of royal medieval tombs in the Balkans can only be put on the list of long-term scholarly agenda, while the slow process of systematic compilation of information continues.

The objectives of this paper are to examine a group of royal medieval tombs in the Balkans from the point of view of: (1) their decoration and iconographic setting, and (2) their location within their respective churches. In undertaking this investigation I shall be touching on several different cultural traditions: those of Serbia, Bulgaria, Bosnia and, indirectly, on those of Byzantium and the western states. In doing so, the focus will be on the contrast between eastern and western customs and practices pertaining to royal burials. While this study does not aim at providing any kind of comprehensive coverage, it proposes to outline a facet of the East-West cultural confrontation in the Balkans which has not been examined thus far.

The iconographic setting, that is, the iconography of frescoes related to royal tombs, may be discussed meaningfully in conjunction with several relatively well-preserved Serbian examples. On the basis of these, it is possible to identify two types of scenes as generally occurring directly above tombs: (1) funerary service over the body of the deceased, and (2) presentation of the deceased to either Christ or the Virgin, with the Virgin or an ancestor-saint acting as an intercessor, respectively.⁵

sahranjen pored oca u Ravaničkom mauzoleju?" *Starinar*, n.s., 20 (1970) 405-13; Milka Čanak-Medić, "Iz istorije Arilja," *Saopštenja*, 14 (1982) 25-49. Among the studies dealing with the Bulgarian material one can single out: Krüstiü Miiatev, "Edna nadgrobna skulptura ot dvoretsa v Tŭrnovo," *Izvestiia na bŭlgarskiiia arkheologicheski institut*, 19 (1955) 339-55; Vŭlo Vŭlov, "Novite razkopki na tsŭrkvata 'Sv. chetirideset mŭchenitsi' vŭv Veliko Tŭrnovo," *Arkheologiiia*, 16, no. 2 (1974) 37-54; Khristo P. Dermendzhiev, "Po niakoi vŭprosi otosno interpretatsiia na materialite ustanoveni v pogrebenie no. 39 i negovata datirovka," *Izkustvo*, 26, no. 9 (1976) 38-45. A notable study of the Bosnian material is Pavao Anđelić, *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska, stolna mjesta bosanskih vladara u XIV i XV stoljeću* (Sarajevo, 1972).

⁴Vladimir Ćorović, "Prilog proučavanju načina sahranjivanja i podizanja nadgrob-nih spomenika u našim krajevima u srednjem vijeku," *Naše starine*, 3 (1956) 127-47, who considers the broadest range of issues pertaining to the medieval manner of burial and types of tomb markers on the territory of modern Yugoslavia; Jovanka Maksimović, "Kamen," in *Istorija primenjene umetnosti kod Srba, I. Srednjovekovna Srbija*, ed. by Bojana Radojković (Belgrade, 1977), pp. 244-46, with a general discussion of stone tomb slabs and sarcophagi; Slobodan Ćurčić, *Gračanica. King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park and London, 1979), esp. 128-34, comparing Serbian fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tombs with the Late Byzantine examples.

⁵The former category was discussed by Vojislav J. Djurić, "Istorijske kompozicije u srpskom slikarstvu srednjega veka i njihove književne paralele," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 11 (1968), esp. pp. 103-14; the latter group was analyzed by Mirjana Ćorović Ljubinković, "Uz problem ikonografije srpskih svetitelja Simeona i Save,"

Furthermore, aspects of the general decorative program were occasionally adapted taking into account the presence of an important tomb.

The church of the Ascension at Mileševa Monastery was built as the mausoleum church of King Vladislav, and painted before 1228. The king's tomb in the form of a sarcophagus was situated in the southwest corner of the church (Fig. 7-B). The sarcophagus itself is no longer extant, but its location is not in doubt (Fig. 1).⁶ Directly above the space once occupied by the sarcophagus is a scene depicting the enthroned Christ being approached by Virgin Mary introducing King Vladislav who, as the donor, is shown with the model of the church in his left hand. Above this is the scene depicting the Angel with two Marys at the Tomb. This scene illustrates, in part, the Resurrection of Christ. The two scenes, a christological and a royal one, are subtly linked through the common theme of Salvation.

In the church of the Holy Trinity at Sopoćani Monastery, painted between 1263 and 1268, a similar juxtaposition of christological and royal scenes in conjunction with a tomb has been noted (Fig. 2).⁷ Above the tomb of the founder of the church, King Uroš I, whose sarcophagus is fully preserved, we find again a procession scene, led by Virgin Mary, followed by the Monk Simeon (Stefan Prvovenčani, the 'First-Crowned'), and ultimately by King Uroš with the model of the church in his hand. Directly above this procession is the Crucifixion. On the opposite, north wall of the west bay of the naos, is the Anastasis scene. The two scenes are juxtaposed in a manner characteristic of Byzantine decorative programs. They are linked thematically as well as functionally; both relate to burials below them. The Anastasis scene occurs above the sarcophagus of the Serbian Archbishop Joanikije I, recently reconstructed from the surviving fragments.⁸

Another example of a special adjustment in the decorative program of a church in relationship to a royal tomb was observed at Pološko, believed to have been painted around 1370.⁹ The church of St. George at Pološko was the mausoleum-church of one Dragušin (d. 1340), a relative of the Serbian King, and later Emperor, Dušan. The decorative program at Pološko involves the juxtaposition of the Presentation of the Virgin with the Crucifixion scene on the opposite tympanum walls

Starinar, n.s. 7-8 (1958), esp. pp. 77-79.

⁶Svetozar Radojčić, *Mileševa* (Belgrade, 1963), p. 10.

⁷Vojislav J. Djurić, *Sopoćani* (Belgrade, 1963), pp. 30-32.

⁸Olivera Marković, "Prilog proučavanju . . .," pp. 97-98. For the photograph of the restored sarcophagus see J. Maksimović, "Kamen," fig. 30.

⁹Vojislav J. Djurić, "Pološko—hilendarski metoh i Dragušinova grobnica," *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja*, 8 (1975) 327-42.

below the main, domed bay of the naos. The Presentation scene has been linked to the dependence of Pološko on Hilandar (Chilandari) Monastery on Mount Athos. The main church of Hilandar was dedicated to the Presentation of the Virgin, causing the placement of the Presentation fresco in the unusually prominent spot at Pološko. The Crucifixion scene at Pološko, on the other hand, has been related to Dragušin's now lost tomb. According to Vojislav Djurić, the presence of the Deesis below the Crucifixion, but well above the floor level, indicates the original location of the now missing sarcophagus.¹⁰

In addition to specially devised scenes and adjustments made within the general decorative programs of Serbian churches, we also find narthexes and lateral chapels (parekklesia) whose funerary functions are reflected in the distinctive nature of their decorative programs.^{10a} The exonarthex of Mileševa, added to the original church around 1236, for example, was envisioned as the mausoleum for the first Serbian Archbishop, Saint Sava, who had died in 1235, and was temporarily buried at Tŭrnovo in Bulgaria.¹¹ The entire interior of this exonarthex was covered with Last Judgment scenes, obviously related to the intended function of the space.

Serbian examples of the iconographic setting of royal tombs and special adaptations of the general decorative program reflect the Byzantine practice in general, and in details. Unfortunately, the number of preserved Byzantine imperial and aristocratic tombs within their original settings is even smaller than what was found to be true of Serbia.¹² Fragmentary bits of evidence do exist, and must be painstakingly identified and collected. Recent work on the Panagia Chalkeon in Thessalonike, the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas, Kariye Camii in Istanbul, and Panagia Kosmosoteira at Pherrai illustrates progress made in

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 341.

^{10a} Gordana Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969), ch. 5, esp. pp. 129-58.

¹¹ S. Radojčić, *Mileševa*, pp. 32-35. Recently, Radomir Nikolić, "O grobu svetog Save u Miliševu," *Saopštenja*, 14 (1982) 7-23, has proposed redating the exonarthex and its frescoes to around 1220-21, long before Saint Sava's death.

¹² An indication of iconographic complexities and subtleties may be gleaned, however, from surviving funerary programs as, for example, those of the Parekklesion of Kariye Camii (the church of Christ of the Chora Monastery) and the Parekklesion of the Fethiye Camii (Saint Mary Pammakaristos) in Istanbul, and the Ossuary of Bachkovo Monastery in Bulgaria. For the Parekklesion of Kariye Camii cf. Sirarpie der Nersessian, "Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion," in *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, ed. by Paul A. Underwood (Princeton, 1975), 305-49; for the Parekklesion of Fethiye Camii cf. Hans Belting, Cyril Mango and Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1978), esp. pp. 69-73; for the Bachkovo Ossuary cf. Elka Bakalova, *Bachkovskata kostnitsa* (Sofia, 1977).

this direction.¹³ The Serbian examples which have been discussed clearly belong to the mainstream of Byzantine funerary art as revealed by the new material cited.

The Serbian material considered thus far, however, represents only one side of the coin. Quite a different picture would have confronted the visitor to the Monastery of the Archangels near Prizren, in Southern Serbia. The principal church of this monastery, now in total ruin, was built sometime after 1347 as the mausoleum church of Stefan Dušan, the "Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks."¹⁴ The Emperor's tomb was situated along the south wall of the church, near its southwest corner (Fig. 7-F). Only pitiful remains of the tomb came to light during modern excavations. Yet, even in their fragmentary state they offer invaluable insights into its character. Three fragments of a human figure in high relief suggest that the tomb was marked by a *gisant* of the Emperor.¹⁵ The architectural remains in the area around the tomb indicate that the south wall, directly behind the tomb proper, was articulated by a blind arcade supported on colonnettes and brackets (Figs. 3 and 4). The use of decorative arcading, as well as the high-relief *gisant* illustrate a distinctly western concept of the tomb. The same may be said of the architecture and architectural sculpture of the building. An elaborate portal, windows colonnettes, capitals, cornices, and figurative sculpture, along with fine ashlar construction of exterior walls, leave no doubt that the builders and sculptors of this church and the tomb of Emperor Dušan must have come from the Adriatic coast. Such a choice was consistent with the long-standing tradition of royal mausolea in Serbia.¹⁶ On the other hand, imperial iconography which

¹³ For the Panagia Chalkeon cf. Anna Tsitouridou, "Die Grabkonzeption des ikonographischen Programms der Kirche Panagia Chalkeon in Thessalonike," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32, no. 5 (1982) 435-41, although the author carries her argument too far in insisting that the appearance of the Ascension scene in the dome should be linked to the funerary function of the building. For the northwest chapel of the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas cf. Théano Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens, 1982), esp. pp. 17-27, and 39-82. The inner narthex of the Kariye Camii features certain iconographic and programmatic idiosyncrasies which have been associated with the one-time location of the tomb of one Isaak Komnenos; cf. Robert G. Ousterhout, "The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1982, pp. 133-38. For the church of the Virgin Kosmosoteira at Pherrai, which ultimately became the resting place of the same Isaak, see the article by Nancy Ševčenko in this volume, "The Tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai," pp. 135-40 above.

¹⁴ Nenadović, *Dušanova zadužbina* . . . , is the principal monograph on the Monastery of the Archangels.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 53, also pl. LVII, 325 and 326.

¹⁶ Planning and stylistic consistencies shared by Serbian royal mausolea over a period of approximately 150 years were first observed and analyzed in that context by Milije M. Vasić, *Žiža i Lazarica. Studije iz srpske umetnosti srednjeg veka* (Belgrade, 1928), esp. pp. 88-93.

flourished in Serbian art at the time, unmistakably reflected Byzantine prototypes. This was consistent with Dušan's central political theme—that of the Empire—which was fashioned strictly after the Byzantine model.¹⁷

A similar, virtually contemporary phenomenon may be observed in the capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire—Tŭrnovo. Here, a fortified palace came into being during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on a dramatic site, previously occupied by an older group of buildings. Within the second palace complex, known as "Tsarevets," archaeological excavations conducted after W.W. II brought to light the remains of a small palatine chapel (Fig. 8-A).¹⁸ On the basis of the preserved foundation walls it is possible to conclude that the church was of the characteristically Byzantine four-column type, the four columns supporting a dome over the central part of the structure. The church was preceded by a narthex and an exonarthex, both of which were used for burial purposes. A tomb excavated in the southwest corner of the church naos, however, is of particular importance notwithstanding the fact that it was plundered and virtually obliterated in the past.¹⁹ A number of clues has led to its identification as the tomb of the Bulgarian Emperor Ivan Alexander (1331-1371). As in the case of Emperor Dušan's tomb, sculptural fragments which came to light indicate that the tomb featured a *gisant*.²⁰ The fragment depicting a pair of feet is particularly relevant. Krŭstiu Miiatev has convincingly demonstrated that the representation of a double-headed eagle on one of the shoes identifies the figure as being an emperor.²¹ Miiatev's most important piece of supporting evidence is the portrait of Ivan Alexander from the Bulgarian Four Gospels Manuscript in the British Library in London.²² The comparison of the painted portrait

¹⁷ Zaga Gavrilović, "Divine Wisdom as Part of the Byzantine Imperial Ideology. Research into the Artistic Interpretations of the Theme in Medieval Serbia," *Zograf*, 11 (1980), 44-53; also Slobodan Ćurčić, "Church Architecture of the Serbo-Greek Empire (1346-1371)," *Fifth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers*, October 26-28, 1979, Washington, D.C., pp. 37-38.

¹⁸ For the final excavation report see Krŭstiu Miiatev et al. *Tsarevgrad Tŭrnov, dvoretsŭt na bŭlgarskite tsare prez Vtorata bŭlgarska dŭrzhava* (Sofia, 1973), 1, 120-24.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁰ Krŭstiu Miiatev, "Edna nadgrobna skulptura ot dvoretsa v Tŭrnovo," *Izvestiia na bŭlgarskii arheologicheski institut*, 19 (1955) 339-56.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 242 f., Fig. 4. Regarding the iconography of the double-headed eagle in Byzantine imperial art see also the brief overview by George Stričević, "The Double-Headed Eagle: an Imperial Emblem?" *Fifth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers*, October 26-28, 1979, Washington, D.C., pp. 39-40.

²² Miiatev, "Edna nadgrobna skulptura," pp. 350-51, and Figs. 7 and 8. For the best reproduction of the portrait illumination see Ljudmila Shivkova, *Das Tetraevangeliar des Zaren Ivan Alexandar* (Recklinghausen, 1977), pl. 6 (p. 85).

and *gisant* fragment, however, enables us to appreciate yet another aspect of the imperial art of Ivan Alexander—its dual roots.²³ The imperial iconography and the style of the family portrait in the London manuscript are unmistakably Byzantine. The portrayal of the deceased emperor in the form of a *gisant* over his tomb, on the other hand, is distinctly western.²⁴ Thus, as in the case of the Serbian example, we see here a simultaneous exposure to eastern and western influence.

Strictly western examples of royal tombs were brought to light during recent excavations at Bobovac in central Bosnia.²⁵ The tombs were located in a chapel-mausoleum, built within the palace complex of the Bosnian kings (Fig. 5). It was presumably in use by 1356, the date of the first written source referring to the palace complex.²⁶ The first burial within the chapel appears to be, on historical grounds, from the reign of King Ostoja (1398-1404). The excavations brought to light a large number of sculptural fragments belonging to three royal sarcophagi, believed to have been those of kings Ostoja, Tvrtko II (1404-43), and Stjepan Tomaš (1443-61).²⁷ None of the three sarcophagi could be reconstructed *in toto*. It is evident, however, that all three belong to a type featuring an armored *gisant*. Each is further marked by the presence of royal insignia (crown, orb, scepter, coat of arms), angels at the head, dragons and lions at the feet of the figures, as well as Latin inscriptions along the borders of the cover slabs. The quality of execution is exceptionally high and has been linked to a Budim sculptural workshop which produced such tombs as the one of Janoš Stibor (d. 1429), chamberlain of the Hungarian King Sigismund.²⁸

In addition, two of the three sarcophagi had decorative blind arcades along its flanks. One of these, presumably belonging to the tomb of King Tvrtko II, was especially elaborate, with a system of intersecting arches and simulated grilled windows (Fig. 6). The use of blind arcades on the sides of sarcophagi is a fairly common practice in the West during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though the later tendency appears to have been for arcades to become 'populated' with standing figures and even scenes. By contrast, sculptural decoration of Middle

²³ The problem of dual roots in Bulgarian architecture and architectural sculpture during the period of the Second Bulgarian Empire is discussed by Tatjana Silfanovska-Novikova, "Sur le problème du style byzantin et des tendances romanes dans le décor architectural des écoles nationales médiévales," *Actes du XIV^e Congrès international des études byzantines*, 1971 (Bucharest, 1976), 3, 399-404.

²⁴ Judith W. Hurtig, *The Armored Gisant before 1400*, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts (New York and London, 1979), esp. ch. 5 (pp. 188-226) which focuses on a particular type of this distinctly western phenomenon.

²⁵ P. Andjelić, *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska*, pp. 66-98.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98, and p. 140.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 86ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-94.

and Late Byzantine sarcophagi reveal different characteristics. Geometric compositions, interlaces, stylized floral motifs, crosses, etc. form a standard vocabulary which, on the whole, shuns the human figure and never, to my knowledge, involves the use of the *gisant*.²⁹ Sculptural embellishment of areas around Byzantine tombs is uncommon though not unknown, and may have evolved under western influence.³⁰

Another aspect of the royal mausoleum chapel at Bobovac which stands out as being distinctly western in contrast to the Byzantine practice, brings us to the second general objective of this study—the examination of the locations of royal tombs within their respective churches. The three royal tombs at Bobovac were situated prominently, *directly in front of the main altar*, and within the sanctuary enclosure (Fig. 5). Such an arrangement of tombs in relationship to the altar was not uncommon in the West, but was never found in Byzantium. During the Middle Ages tombs in the proximity of altars were a familiar sight in such renowned western mausoleum churches as Saint Denis, the cathedral of Speyer, and Westminster Abbey.³¹ This practice, in fact, was not restricted to royal tombs alone, and was widespread geographically. It was common in Catholic regions of the Balkans during the Middle Ages, as the archaeological evidence attests.³² A particularly relevant example is that of the so-called Saška crkva, near Novo Brdo in Serbia

²⁹ The subject of Middle and Late Byzantine sarcophagi has not been treated comprehensively. The best general discussion of the material appears in André Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du Moyen Age*, II (XI^e-XIV^e siècle) (Paris, 1976), *passim*. The only example of a Byzantine tomb with a sculptural depiction of a human being appears to be the tomb of Saint Theodora (wife of Michael II, Despot of Epiros, 1231-ca. 1268), in her church at Arta. Although iconographically speaking, the representation of Saint Theodora and her son Nikephoros is Byzantine, the placement of the image on the side of a sarcophagus, as well as the general character of the tomb, appear to be western. This, of course, is not surprising in Epiros where western influence on Byzantine architecture and art are well known. For the tomb of Saint Theodora cf. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines*, pp. 144-45, and pl. 121.

³⁰ The finest examples are, without a doubt, the decorative panels framing the arcosolia in the Parekklesion of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul; cf. Øystein Hjort, "The Sculpture of Kariye Camii," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 33 (1979) 248-55, and figs. 61-70.

³¹ For Saint Denis see Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort, Étude sur les funéraires, les sculptures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Geneva, 1975), pp. 75-83, and fig. 26; for Speyer see Hans Erich Kubach, *Der dom zue Speyer* (Darmstadt, 1974), pp. 20-22, 62-65, figs. 20 and 35; for Westminster Abbey see John Pope-Hennessy, "The Tombs and Monuments," in *Westminster Abbey*, ed. by Walter Annenberg (Radnor, Pa., 1972), pp. 197-258, fig. on p. 213.

³² As, for example, in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century church of Saint Nicholas at Šati (Schati, Albania), where four tombs were situated within the rectangular sanctuary, apparently behind the altar; cf. Vojislav Korać, *Graditeljska škola Pomorja* (Belgrade, 1965), p. 91, fig. 18. Also, in the church of Saint Nicholas (Saint Mark) at Stari Bar, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century where five tombs were situated directly in front of the altar; cf. Djurdje Bošković, *Stari Bar* (Belgrade, 1962), pp. 103-13, esp. p. 109, and fig. 135.

where numerous tombs covered the entire floor of the nave, and a single important tomb was situated in front of the altar itself.³³

The situation in the Byzantine world was quite different. The sanctuary area, and even the naos proper directly below the main dome, were not used as burial grounds. Such an attitude toward the location of burials may have been formulated as early as 356-57 when, amidst a major controversy, the remains of Emperor Constantine I had to be moved from the sanctuary of his church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople to an adjacent mausoleum built expressly for the accommodation of the emperor's tomb.³⁴ This custom appears to have been faithfully observed throughout Byzantine history. We know that until the eleventh century most Byzantine emperors were buried 'in' the church of the Holy Apostles, which actually means in the adjacent mausolea and external porticoes, or *stoas*.³⁵ A similar rule was adhered to under the Komnenian and Palaiologan emperors who built new dynastic mausolea in the form of church clusters with ample envelope spaces and porticoes for the accommodation of burials.³⁶ At all times, the naos and the sanctuary, the symbolic nuclei of the 'Heavenly Jerusalem', remained off-limits for burial purposes.

The same custom was apparently adhered to in other areas under the influence of the Eastern Orthodox Church.³⁷ In Serbia, for ex-

³³ Emil Čerškov, " 'Saška crkva' kod Novog Brda," *Starinar*, n.s., 7-8 (1956-57), 338-40. This church is important because it shows that Catholic burial customs were maintained notwithstanding the fact that the church was located on the territory of Orthodox Serbia.

³⁴ Richard Krautheimer, "On Constantine's Church of the Apostles in Constantinople," *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), pp. 27-34 (translation from German version which originally appeared in *Mullus, Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (Münster, 1964), pp. 224-29).

³⁵ Philip Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1962) 3-60.

³⁶ The two most important imperial mausoleum-church complexes of later Byzantine times in Constantinople are the Pantokrator Monastery and the Monastery of Constantine Lips. For the former see Arthur H.S. Megaw, "Notes on recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963) 335-64, esp. 335-47; for the latter see Theodore Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18 (1964), esp. 253-77 ("The Monastery of Lips and the Burials of the Palaeologi"), and corrections by Cyril Mango, pp. 251-52.

³⁷ As, for example, in Kievan Russia and Norman Sicily. For the discussion of princely burials in the church of Saint Sophia at Kiev see Olexa Powstenko, *The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev* (New York, 1954), pp. 101-10 ("The Sarcophagus of Yaroslav and Other Burials"). The burials of the Norman kings of Sicily reflect the Byzantine custom, as far as their location within the church is concerned. For a thorough discussion of the tombs see Josef Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959). For the locations of tombs at Cefalù, according to the recent archaeological finds, see Crispino Valenziano and Maria Valenziano, *La basilica cattedrale di Cefalù nel periodo normanno* (Palermo, 1979), illus. on pp. 66 and 67. For Monreale,

ample, one finds a clearly related pattern pertaining to the location of royal tombs. From the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century, the tombs of Serbian kings and queens appear, almost invariably, in the southwest corners of their mausoleum churches. The development began with the tomb of the dynastic founder, Stefan Nemanja, at Studenica, and was faithfully repeated by his successors at Miliševa, Sopoćani, Gradac, Dečani, and the Monastery of the Holy Archangels (Fig. 7).³⁸ The same was evidently also true of the Bulgarian royal burials. In addition to the tomb of Emperor Ivan Alexander (Fig. 8-A), we may refer to another mausoleum church at Tŭrnovo, the church of the Forty Martyrs, built after 1230 (Fig. 8-B).³⁹ The tomb of its founder, Emperor Ivan Assen II, was located at the south end of the narthex.⁴⁰ The large exonarthex, added during the second half of the thirteenth century, and the long lateral porticoes built around 1300, created additional burial space in this popular mausoleum church. As the excavation plan shows clearly, the concentration of burials increases with the distance from the central space which remains free of any burials at all times.⁴¹

One particular category of burials appears to have constituted the only exception to the general rule governing the placement of burials within an Orthodox Church—tomb-reliquaries of beatified or canonized individuals. Several examples of such tomb-reliquaries from medieval Serbia have survived.⁴² Furthermore, a number of literary sources describe the actual transfer of the body of the deceased from the regular grave to a wooden sarcophagus which would be placed at a new location in the middle of the church.⁴³ Such transfers, as a rule, followed

see Wolfgang Krönig, *The Cathedral of Monreale and Norman Architecture in Sicily* (Palermo, 1965), p. 218, fig. 46, pl. 35.

³⁸ S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica*, pp. 131-32. This arrangement also applies to the monastery church of Gračanica, which may have been intended as the royal mausoleum, but the idea appears to have been subsequently abandoned for political reasons; *Ibid.*, pp. 128-37.

³⁹ Vŭlov, "Novite razkopki . . ." (see n. 3, above), and Stefan Bojadžiev, "L'église des Quarante Martyrs a Tarnovo," *Études balkaniques*, 7, no. 3 (1971) 143-58, concentrating on the various aspects of the exo-narthex, on the basis of archaeological work.

⁴⁰ K. P. Dermendzhiev, "Po nŭakoi vuprosi . . .," (see n. 3, above).

⁴¹ Volov, "Novite razkopki . . .," p. 45, fig. 9.

⁴² The remains of the following Serbian rulers are preserved in tomb-reliquaries: Stefan Prvovenčani (d. 1228), at Studenica; King Milutin (d. 1321), in Sofia, Bulgaria; King Stefan Dečanski (d. 1331), at Dečani; Emperor Uroš (d. 1371), in Belgrade; and Prince Lazar (d. 1389), in Belgrade. Regarding these tomb-reliquaries and cults which arose around them see Leontije Pavlović, *Kultovi lica kod Srba i Makedonaca* (Smederevo, 1965), pp. 54, 94-95, 104-06, 114, and 122-24, respectively.

⁴³ The following are references to specific locations of tomb-reliquaries from medieval Serbian literary sources (Lives of Kings and Archbishops). In the Life of Saint Sava (d. 1235) by Domentijan, the relevant portion of the text reads: "... u drvenom kovčegu

miraculous occurrences at the original tombs attesting to the miracle-working powers of the deceased individuals. Two Serbian tomb-reliquaries—those of the ruler-saints Stefan Prvovenčani (d. 1228) and Stefan Dečanski (d. 1331)—are preserved at Studenica and Dečani, respectively.⁴⁴ Both of them, as objects of veneration, are located in front of the iconostasis screen, to the left of its door. The very fact that literary sources point out the location of tomb-reliquaries while never mentioning the location of regular tombs, suggests that the placement of tomb-reliquaries constituted an exception in contrast to the common knowledge regarding the placement of regular tombs.

Conclusions which may be drawn from this study are several. Generally speaking, they reveal the effects of church regulations on the one hand, and preferences of the patrons on the other. The analysis of royal tombs in Orthodox Serbia and Bulgaria suggests that only the *location* of the tomb within the church was subject to strict regulations. The physical appearance of the tomb and, to a somewhat lesser degree, even the character of the surrounding decoration could be executed in accordance with what may be thought of as the wishes of the patron. This, in turn, could be understood as reflecting either the taste of the given individual, or simply the availability of artisans at a given moment. The observations are consistent with our general understanding of church architecture in this area. The planning of churches was governed by Orthodox liturgical requirements. Their form and style, on the other hand, could be determined by the patron's choice, by the

položiše ga *posred svete i velike crkve*" (in the midst of the holy and large church); cf. Domentijan, *Životi Svetoga Save i Svetoga Simeona*, transl. by Lazar Mirković (Belgrade, 1938), p. 216. The corresponding section of the text in the Life of Saint Sava by Teodosije reads: "... podigavši opet presveto telo njegovo iz groba celo i neporušeno, istaviše ga prijatna mirisa *napred u crkvi* (in the forward part of the church) svima na vidjenje i poklonjenje." cf. Milivoje Bašić, transl. and ed., *Stare srpske biografije* (Belgrade, 1924), p. 248. In the Life of Queen Jelena (d. 1314) by Archbishop Danilo II, the pertinent portion of the text reads: "... i obavivši telo blažene sa dobromirisnim mirisima i u njega položiše je gde leži i do današnjeg dana *izvan oltarskih dveri pred ikonom Vladike sviju Hrista* ..." (outside the iconostasis doors and in front of the icon of Christ the Ruler of All); cf. Arhiepiskop Danilo, *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*, transl. by Lazar Mirković (Belgrade, 1935), p. 76. The relevant section of the text from the Life of King Milutin (d. 1321) by Archbishop Danilo II reads: "... i postaviše kivot *pred ikonom vladike sviju Hrista* (in front of the icon of Christ the Ruler of All), gde leži i do ovoga dana *izvan oltarskih dveri* (outside the iconostasis doors)." cf. Arhiepiskop Danilo, *Životi*, pp. 120-21.

⁴⁴ For the tomb-reliquary of Stefan Prvovenčani see Milan Kašanin et al., *Studenica* (Belgrade, 1968), pp. 27-28, and L. Pavlović, *Kultovi*, pp. 54-55. For the tomb-reliquary of Stefan Dečanski see V.R. Petković and Dj. Bošković, *Manastir Dečani* (Belgrade, 1941), 1, 104-06, and L. Pavlović, *Kultovi*, pp. 104-06. For the exceptionally fine medieval wooden sarcophagus of Stefan Dečanski see Mirjana Čorović-Ljubinković, "Drvo," in *Istorija primenjene umetnosti kod Srba, I. Srednjovekovna Srbija*, ed. by Bojana Radojković (Belgrade, 1977), pp. 201-02, and fig. 9.

availability of builders and building materials, by local traditions, in other words, by criteria evidently unaffected by ecclesiastical dictates. In Catholic areas of the Balkans the location of tombs within churches appears to have depended solely on the social rank of the deceased. The choice of the decorative scheme for the tomb and the surrounding area, by contrast, shows a greater degree of conservatism and dependence on the general practice within the Catholic world. In a nutshell, we can suggest that the medieval royal tombs of the Balkans reveal a flow of influences moving from the West to the East, but with a general effect which was not without traditional constraints.



0 ————— 3m

1. Mileševa. Western naos bay; south wall (iconographic setting of King Vladislav's tomb) (Drawing: B. Živković; from S. Radojić, *Mileševa*)



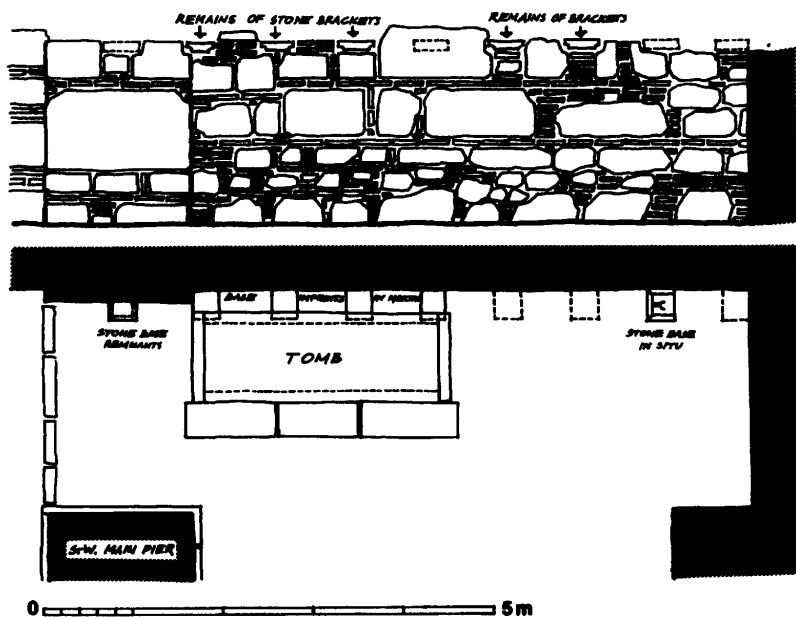
SOUTH WALL



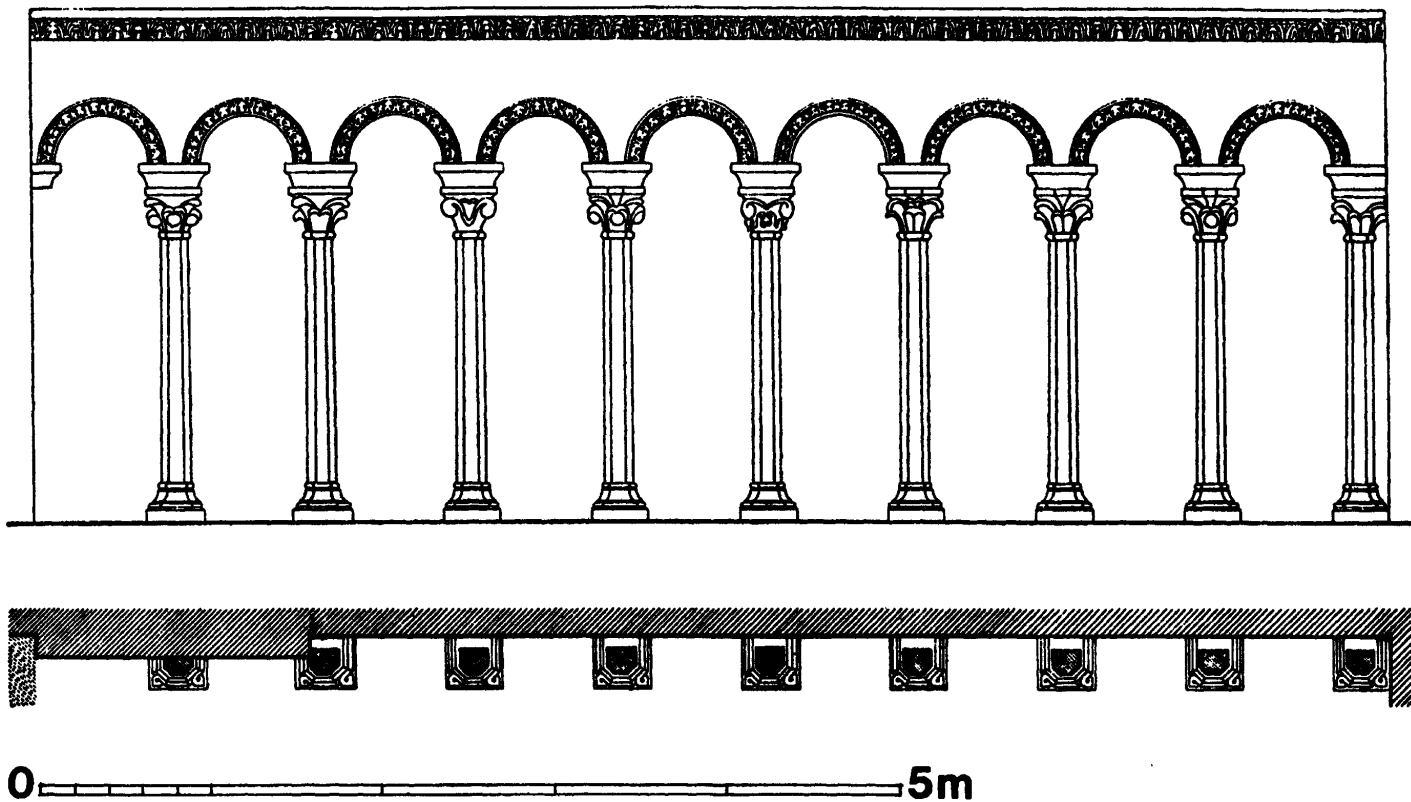
NORTH WALL

0 ————— 5m

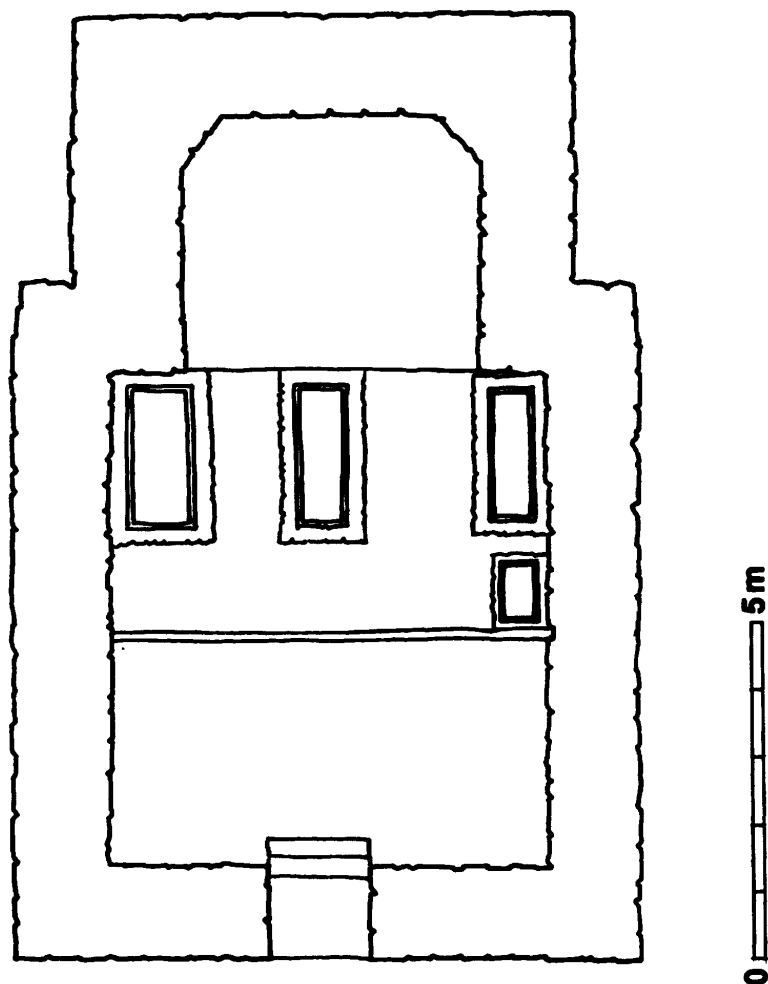
2. Sopoćani. Western naos bay; south wall (iconographic setting of King Uroš I's tomb), north wall (iconographic setting of Archbishop Joanikije I's tomb) (drawing: B. Živković; from V.J. Djurić, *Sopoćani*; with sarcophagi added by author)



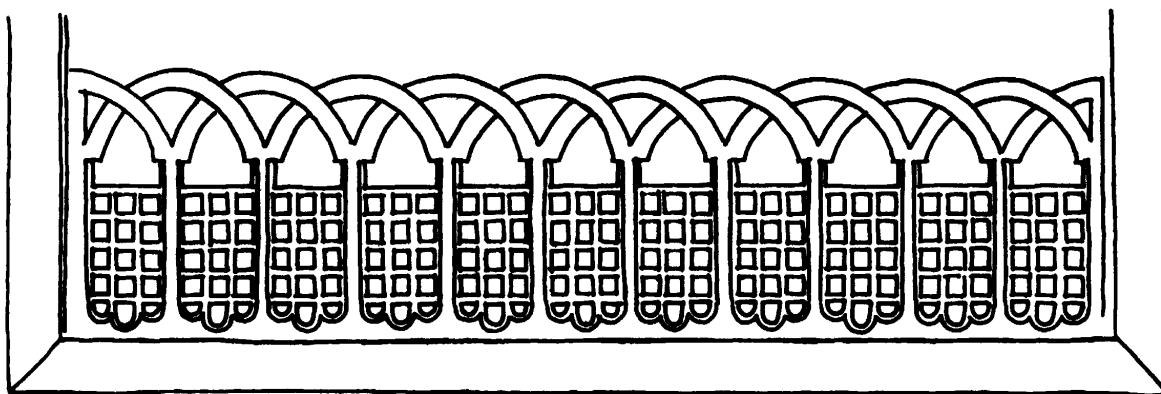
3. Prizren (near), Monastery of the Archangels, Church of the Holy Archangels. Southwest corner bay with tomb of Emperor Dušan; elevation and plan of excavated remains (drawing: author; redrawn from S. Nenadović)



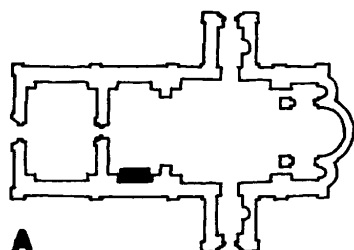
4. Prizren (near), Monastery of the Archangels, Church of the Holy Archangels. Tomb of Emperor Dušan, reconstruction of decorative arcade against south church wall (drawing: S. Nenadović)



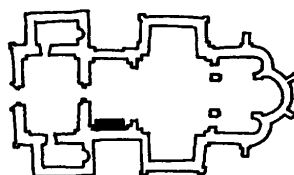
5. Bobovac. Mausoleum chapel of Bosnian kings; plan (drawing: author; redrawn from P. Andjelić)



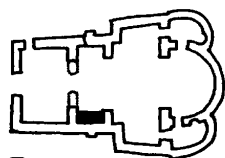
6. Bobovac, Mausoleum chapel of Bosnian kings; sarcophagus of King Tvrtko II, lateral slab, reconstruction (drawing: author; redrawn from P. Andjelić)



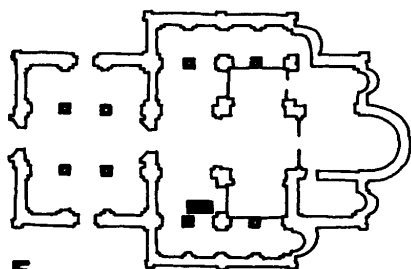
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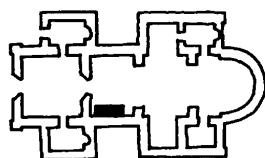
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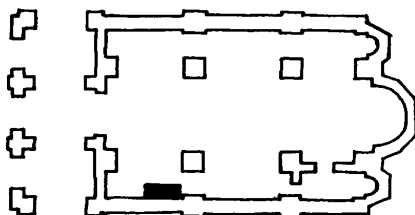
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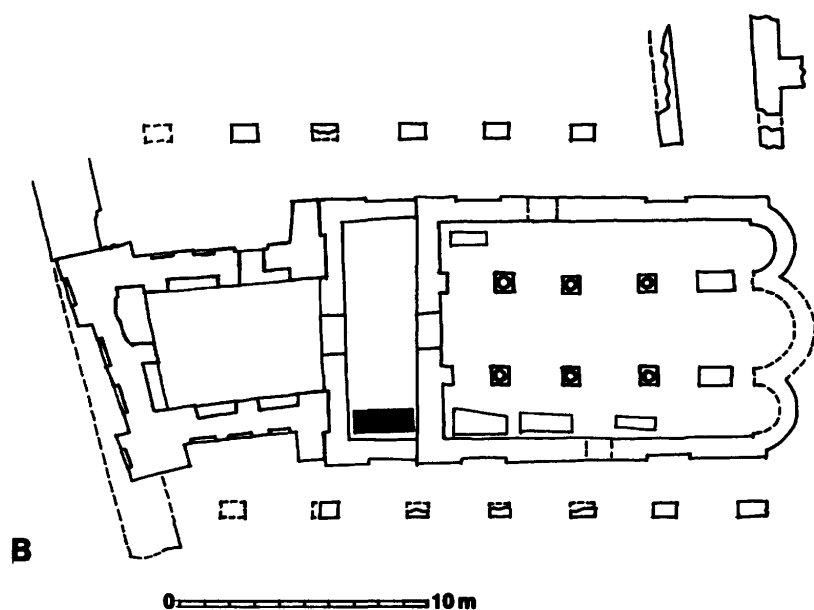
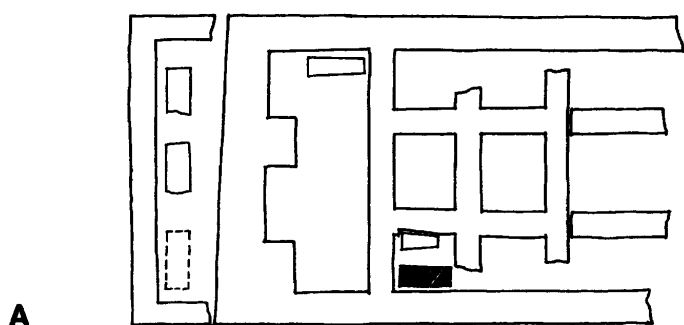


C



F

7. Locations of Serbian royal tombs: (A) Studenica (Stefan Nemanja), (B) Mileševa (Vladislav), (C) Sopoćani (Uroš I), (D) Gradac (Queen Jelena), (E) Dečani (Stefan Dečanski), and (F) Monastery of the Archangels (Dušan) (drawing: author)



8. Locations of Bulgarian royal tombs: (A) Tŭrnovo-Tsarevets, Palatine Chapel (Ivan Alexander); (B) Tŭrnovo, Forty Martyrs (Ivan Assen II) (drawing: author; after Miiatev and Vŭlov, respectively)

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Miracle in the Early Christian World: A Study in Sociohistorical Method. By Howard Clark Kee. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983. Pp. xi + 320. \$22.50, cloth.

All kinds of interesting books have been published lately on early Christianity, and the Yale University Press has certainly been among the leading presses in this country to bring readers the printed results of the latest thinking and research in this field. Howard Clark Kee, Aurelio Professor of Biblical Studies at Boston University and a student of the late Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough and Carl Herman Kraeling of Yale, has given us a study that makes "the effort to enter empathetically into the world of a past time, place, and outlook" and "do so by self-conscious development of historical methods which make the historian aware of differences between his own culture and the one he is studying. Rather than proceeding on a broad, generalized front, the subject matter of this work concentrates on a phenomenon that was widespread in the ancient world and figures importantly in the literature of the Greco-Roman period which is the focus of our interest here: miracle. The aim is to enter into the ways in which miracle was understood in this period rather than to impose on the data modern judgments about the claims made by or on behalf of miracle workers" (p. vii).

Kee begins with a review of the principal methods used from the Enlightenment to the present in analyzing the historical methods in the study of the history of religions, namely, *the comparative method* and the "antecedently arrived at reductionistic essence. This study of the history of religion aims to offer a critique of what have been the prevailing historical methods in this field and "to propose a historical method which more faithfully portrays and interprets religious phenomena in their original setting and which seeks to develop safeguards against imposing modern categories on ancient data" (p. 1). There are eight very full chapters to this highly concentrated book. The first two ("When the Golden Bough Breaks: The Decline and Fall of the History of Religious Method" and "Personal Identity and World-Construction") trace the rise of the traditional history of religious methods with all its weaknesses and point to a possible way for developing a strategy for historical reconstruction and interpretation, followed by a series of short sketches of some changing perceptions of human nature and destiny among pagans, Jews, and Christians around the turn of the Christian era. The third and fourth chapters ("Asklepios the Healer" and "Isis") trace the various evolutionary stages of these deities, the first of whom was seen as concerned with a wide range of human needs, anxieties, and aspirations—a cosmic savior—and the second, as the

dispenser of the medicine of immortality and a life orientor, while the fifth chapter ("Miracle and the Apocalyptic Tradition") deals with the basic orientation of pristine Christianity in an apocalyptic world view. The sixth ("Miracle in History and Romance: Roman and Early Christian Sources") demonstrates the increasing impact of Roman literary and religious traditions on the reworking of the gospel traditions. The seventh chapter ("Miracle as Universal Symbol") traces the great importance of symbolic thought and interpretation of older religious tradition in relation to both Christian (the Gospel of John) and Roman sources (Plutarch). The eighth and final chapter ("Miracle as Propaganda in Pagan and Christian Romances") reviews the further influence of the pagan literary and conceptual traditions on early Christian romances. The "Conclusion" suggests some new ways of approaching the historical study of religion.

There is an enormous amount of information contained in this book which, in a real sense, is an integrated study because it provides data on the Egyptians, Greeks, the Romans, the Jews, and the early Christians and relates that data to the Roman Empire as a total society. The apocalypticism in Judaism, with its fullest evidence in the Book of Daniel, shows the direct intervention of God to save His own. Jesus as miracle worker and prophet performs exorcisms as the signs of liberation of God's new people from the evil powers and of the already begun establishment of his eschatological rule. In Mark miracle stories are shown to be exorcisms, healings (including the restoration of the dead to life), and triumphs over the natural world. Both miracle and martyrdom find meaning in the framework of an apocalyptic life-world. Matthew recalls the function of miracle in the rabbinic tradition, namely, to lend authority to the activity of Jesus, and particularly to his interpretation of the Law. Through miracles God demonstrates his approbation of each new stage in the cosmic process of redemption by a divine manifestation and, for Luke, miracle shows "that at every significant point in the transitions of Christianity from its Jewish origins in Jerusalem to its Gentile outreaching to Rome itself, the hand of God is evident in the form of public miraculous confirmation" (p. 220). Miracle is a symbol of divine transformation and John insists on the historicity, corporeality, and true humanity of his figure of Jesus of Nazareth. Miracles are frequent in the romances, in which they work primarily as propaganda and function predominantly as a mode of manifestation of divine power. The term "resurrection" was used in the first and third centuries but its meaning became altered in time. These are but a few of the important observations that Kee makes during the course of his study.

Kee concludes that there are a variety of meanings and functions of miracle during the period studied:

1. In texts concerned with health or welfare of the individual, the ministration is to personal need and gratitude is paid to the beneficent divinity (Asklepios, Isis) on a one-to-one basis.

2. In cases where union with the god or disclosure of one's possibility for participation in divine cosmic purpose is sought, that is the essence of the miracle (Aelios Aristides through Asklepios, Apuleios through Isis).

3. In situations where the concern is for the defeat of evil powers and vindication of the oppressed or faithful minority (Jewish or early Christian apocalyptic communities), miracle is the sign of the divine victory to be won, of the triumph over evil forces, even of the elevation to positions of power and peace of those currently threatened and persecuted.

4. In cases where the focus is on the sovereign divine purpose being worked out slowly in the course of world history, miracle will take the form of portents by which divinity reveals to the discerning person how the sovereign cosmic power is shaping the course of events, especially in terms of leadership (cf. Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio Cassius, Josephus, Matthew).

5. In religious propaganda (Hellenistic romances, Acts of the Apostles), the success and problems of the faithful are underlined by accounts of miracles.

6. In revelation through symbolic perception rather than overt wonders, miracle stories will contain hidden mystical meanings (Plutarch, John).

7) Where the major problems of the religious or social community are stability, order, and loyalty, miracle may take the form of divine attestation of the leader figure and/or punitive divine intervention to combat and defeat the opposition (Appollonios of Tyana, Apocryphal Gospels, Acts).

The investigator, stresses Kee, must specify the uniqueness of a particular phenomenon and locate that phenomenon within the larger framework of meaning in which it appears historically. Forms and functions both undergo significant transformation as the cultural life-world changes and so the historian of religion must scrupulously ask: *Who is in charge? What is the opposition? What is the identity of those who understand? How and to what end does the divine manifest itself in human experience? What are the privileges and responsibilities of the community to whom these insights have been granted?*

Miracle in the Early Christian World provides unusually perceptive insights into the early Christian world *and* into the Roman imperial society of which that world was a part. Kee's study of miracle is

comprehensive and detailed, providing us with a way in which we can better understand early Christianity, Judaism, Greco-Roman religions, and the interaction among all of them.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Obedience. Edited by Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. Pp. vii + 88.

This second volume in the series *Themes in Orthodox Patristic Psychology* follows the first, *Humility*; like the first, it is edited by Archimandrite Chrysostomos, Abbot of Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery in Etna, California. The present volume contains an introduction by Archimandrite Chrysostomos, essays by the editor, Hieromonk Ambrosios, Rev. Alexey Young, and Rev. Vladimir Derugin, and a concluding section of new translations from the desert fathers by Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Like the first volume, this is designed both to illuminate aspects of Orthodox theology for Orthodox believers and also to present these insights to a Western audience.

As a Roman Catholic, I deeply appreciate the contributions of this series to a Western understanding of Orthodoxy. Western Christians will find Archimandrite Chrysostomos' introduction especially helpful in understanding the particular view of truth and of primacy held by the Orthodox, a view that is still very unfamiliar in the West. Chrysostomos explains to a world jaded by relativism that the Orthodox Church bears witness to the absolute truth revealed in the Person of Christ, the Logos, the Eternal Word of God, and that it measures all propositions and all behavior against the standard of that truth. More clearly than ever before, perhaps, Abbot Chrysostomos shows that this claim to bear witness to the truth is not made with arrogance or superiority but humbly, openly, and charitably.

Especially valuable is Archimandrite Chrysostomos' plea for an ecumenism based not upon the vain search for the lowest common denominator that might unite the churches but rather upon the witness of the eternal truth of the Logos.

The essays illuminate what obedience means for Orthodox in the context of this witness and the distinctions between true obedience freely and humbly offered and the false obedience that can be demanded by either church or state. The fresh and pithy translations of the desert fathers at the end offer direct examples of the experience of obedience in Orthodox tradition. As a whole the book admirably serves its purpose

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Orthodox Tradition and its Maintenance in Our Religious Life

ARCHBISHOP METHODIOS

IT IS MY PRIVILEGE and pleasure to be with you all today at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology. This important occasion provides me with the opportunity of reminding you of some aspects of our Orthodox tradition so that you might be encouraged in your theological pursuit. I also hope that my words will be given some thoughtful attention by all of you and perhaps become a source of inspiration and more resolute commitment.

Much has been written about the Orthodox tradition, and it is no surprise that the subject has received a lot of attention. Most of the writers, however, exhibit an abstract manner of approach which, in the last analysis, is proved to be inadequate for bringing out the real aspects or even issues relating to Orthodoxy today. To be realists and not abstract theoreticians is a demand placed upon us by the Orthodox tradition itself. Orthodoxy is no ideology. Orthodoxy is a living concrete historical reality which moves from generation to generation and person to person. It is a manner of existence which has transforming, renewing, and saving properties for humanity and its cosmic context.

The first characteristic aspect of the Orthodox tradition which I would like to stress, is the Orthodox spirit of freedom, what we call in Greek *ἐλευθεροφροσύνη*. This aspect permeates every detail of Orthodox reality and differentiates it decisively from the other two major Christian traditions, the Latin and the Protestant. A general comparison of these traditions with that of Orthodoxy will help explain what I mean.

The Church of Rome altered the Church's tradition both legally and officially in a number of crucial points, because this was deemed expedient to the development of its institutional aspirations. From its

An address given before the faculty and students of Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology on 12 February 1984.

early history, the Church of Rome tended to exhibit a spirit of rigidity and self-centeredness. It seemed always to place a distinctive emphasis on rules and regulations. Other factors enhanced this spirit and gave this church a restrictive character which set it on a different path from that of the Greek-speaking churches of the East. Thus, the Church of Rome developed its well-known ecclesiastical formalism.

The Reformation on the one hand reacted to the developments and innovations of the Church of Rome and, on the other hand, thought that it should and could wipe out all tradition from the Church replacing it with an original Gospel. Its historical development showed this to have been a serious mistake. The Reformation not only failed to abolish and to pursue the abolition of the Church's tradition, but ended up with either the adoption of fragments of the tradition, or the subjection and slavery of individualistic pluralism and ideology.

Orthodox Christianity has remained firmly rooted in the Church's original tradition because of its attachment to the rationality and freedom inherent in this tradition. It has done this, in contrast to, and in defiance of, the formalism of the Roman West (caused by its attachment to law and discipline) and the libertinism of the Protestants (caused by reaction and protest). In the last analysis, the Orthodox Church has acted freely and spiritually because she chose to stress the soteriological and charismatic dimension of the Church's tradition, which finds its ultimate source and norm in the mystical presence and grace of the Holy Spirit in the body of Christ, the Church. It is this dimension that has preserved Orthodox tradition from becoming restricted to, or ultimately defined by, human models and human boundaries, whether totalitarian ones (Roman Catholic) or individualistic ones (Protestant). In my understanding, Orthodox tradition is a living intangible reality, which never falls under human control, even though it is always presented through human forms and, above all, human persons. It is, in a word, inhominal. It is like the natural water which always runs off creating new situations alongside the old ones. Basic to its preservation and development is the fact that it rests upon the personal dimension of force and will, and not upon an abstract code or prescription. Orthodox tradition can be described, but can never be fully specified or explained, because it is governed by the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life. The active presence and grace of the Holy Spirit in the Church is the most central element in the self-awareness of Orthodox Christians.

As personal life and experience which is governed by the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit, Orthodox tradition has become the life-possession of the many, and not just a particular privilege of the elite. For this reason, it has been preserved intact to this very day in spite

of extremely difficult and hostile historical circumstances. It is true that there have been and there will be great guardians of the Orthodox tradition, namely, God-bearing Christians distinguished for their great sanctity, zeal and wisdom. Such guardians, however, are not the creators of Orthodoxy. They are rather her servants, or her mouthpieces and heralds who express her inner life and logic. The wisdom, however, of the guardians of Orthodoxy is not merely the product of the scholastic academic life; rather it owes its formation to the spiritually governed liturgical life of the Church which is continued from generation to generation. We must be clear that no Orthodox scholasticism or legalism shapes the tradition against intruding distortions whether from within or from without. Thus, there is a primary imperative for us Orthodox to keep without interruption the living tradition of the Church, lest its diminution leads to the limitation of our life in Christ, and, therefore, to the impoverishment of our theology. Theology speaks only to the few, but tradition speaks to the many. Tradition preserves the whole *pleroma*, the people of God, who receive it and keep it. This ancient concern of our church, which has been until now firmly rooted in the Orthodox countries, must be transferred and consolidated in the new environment of Western Europe, America, and Australasia. The adaptation of Orthodox Christians to new environments should always be undertaken with much care and caution. There is the danger that such an adaptation may lead to a deviation from or abandonment of the constant Orthodox tradition which has been woven together with the spiritual leadership of our Orthodox peoples. Orthodox tradition has entered into the soul of the Orthodox nations and, in this way, it has completed and performed a spiritual mission which has been necessary for the preservation of Orthodox spiritual life. I fear that we often rush into the idea that we can quickly and easily create an English, French or German Orthodoxy. For this to happen, the original Orthodox tradition has to be kept alive and nurtured for many years without becoming subject to the "new" culture. Those who accept the Orthodox tradition must accept it as a new life, rather than to attempt to bring it down to their own life-styles.

In the last analysis, what is needed is the knowledge of the Fathers. The patristic prudence, the patristic zeal, and, above all, the patristic sense of responsibility are necessary for the preservation and growth of the Church. We do not need a new symbol of faith. It would be disastrous to attempt to do this. It would mean betrayal of Orthodoxy. I am speaking to you in English but the content of my speech is the Orthodox tradition. A new language and a new setting can help in the understanding of the Orthodox tradition, because they call for the reception of this tradition. But a new confession or a new symbol of

faith would mean the destruction of our tradition and of our church. If we are to formulate a new creed, then why do we insist in our dialogues with the non-Orthodox on the removal of the filioque clause from the Creed?

Our first task, especially for those of us who are called to the holy priesthood and ministry, is to be patient with the assimilation and communication of the Orthodox tradition. We need to find every possible way to hand over this tradition to the new generations. We need to show them and even persuade them about its supreme value for us and the world. As Saint Paul did with young Timothy, so we must present the Orthodox tradition as the *παρακαταθήκη*, the perpetual treasury of God's gift to humanity, which is handed down from generation to generation for the salvation of the world until the final consummation. At this point, I must express my concern with the failure of cultivating this patristic ethos and handing down the Orthodox tradition in a manner imbued by the spirit of freedom (*ἐλευθεροφροσύνη*) to the young. We should not let this get out of hand. The fire of the free patristic spirit of the Orthodox tradition is the secret to the preservation and the integrity of the Christian faith. It is this fire that shines on the way to the successful propagation of the Christian gospel within a world which strives after liberation. The patristic spirit of freedom is eloquently revealed in the Apostle's words: "I became all things to all men in order to win them to Christ." This is what all Orthodox Christians, clergy and laity, who serve in the Church, and especially those among you who are training for the priestly diaconate, must keep in mind.

Again, let me return to our task of being faithful to the Orthodox tradition. This entails two particular duties. The first one is to keep what we have and the second, to remember who we are; lest we concentrate on attracting converts and lose those who are already baptized in our tradition. The internal work of pastoral care and growth is supreme. We must not forget that the great Fathers of the Church were masters of spiritual life, who always sought to keep alive in the Church the evangelical truth which had come from the Father to Christ, from Christ to his Apostles and from the Apostles to the bishops. From this point of view, the Fathers are the guardians of the holy Tradition. In this we observe a major difference between the Orthodox and the non-Orthodox (Latin or Protestant) traditions. The Orthodox tradition reads Saint Paul in order to discover precepts for life (Saint John Chrysostom), while the West searches for satisfactory answers to theological-theoretical questions (Saint Augustine of Hippo). The words of the distinguished Latin theologian M. J. LeGuilou are quite appropriate in this context:

Thanks to the rich culture in which she was soaked and to the genius of the peoples which composed it, the Church in the East outstandingly embodied in her liturgical and spiritual life the very substance of the Councils and the theology of the first eight centuries. Transfiguring the civilization of the Hellenistic community at the time when Christ called it to take part in his priestly action of going to the Father, she expressed with unrivalled lyricism the blaze of the divine glory coming forth to meet mankind in the Incarnation and the sacraments.

This is our heritage to which we invite those of Rome, Canterbury, Wittenberg, Geneva, and Plymouth (whether in England or Massachusetts). We should not make this invitation, however, before we are certain that we have kept the tradition in its fullness, purity and integrity.

The politicians sacrifice many interests, even national ones, to party concerns. We, however, should have no other interest except securing the future of the Orthodox Church. For this reason, we should not dilute the patristic tradition, but rather make it the permanent guarantee for the growth and vitality of our Church.

* * * * *

In our days, there is much discussion about the renewal of the Church. This idea originated and developed first among the Protestant churches, who tied it to their notion of reformation and, subsequently, within the Roman Church which called it "aggiornamento." Some others went further and called themselves modernists, even editing a review under the title, "The Modernist," in order to propagate their views. It is extremely doubtful whether the adoption of such an idea has actually profited these churches. The paradox is, however, that this idea has made some followers amongst our Orthodox people, who pose as modernists and reformists in the Church. They argue that the Orthodox Church requires renewal or adaptation to the contemporary cultural milieu. This is why people can write on "The Reorientation of the Church" or on other such topics.

In view of this, I am compelled to make certain pronouncements relating to the Orthodox position on the subject of renewal. For the Orthodox Christian, every movement of renewal has to be regulated by the life of the Church, because it is the presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church which actually regulates her activities and her entire life process, so that her experience remains constantly new and

contemporary, as well as didactic and saving. Thus Saint Paul writes to the Christians of Rome, "Do not be conformed with this age." Saint Peter expresses even the same precept more powerfully in his First Catholic Epistle when he urges Christians everywhere to be "as obedient children, not conforming yourselves to the former lusts, as in your ignorance" (1 Pet 1.14).

The advocates of renewal offend the faith by failing to acknowledge that from the very beginning, it has always stood for "new creation." From the beginning, everything in the Church has been handed down to us *as new*, and we have been explicitly warned not to mix the old with the new; "because no man seweth a piece of new cloth on an old garment; else the new piece that filled it up taketh away from the old and the rent is made worse" (Mk 2.21).

It is enough that someone comes to know Christ; "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creation . . ."

From her manifestation in Christ the Church has remained a *new* creation. This is profoundly and beautifully proclaimed in the twenty-first chapter of Revelations:

Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, "Write, for these words are true and faithful." And he said unto me, "It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst for the fountain of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son. But the fearful and unbelieving, and the abominable and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death."

The Church, then, has been, is, and will be the realm of an eternal newness, because it is founded upon the new creation which is in Christ. No change in human history can challenge the newness of the Church. What the Church needs in her historical movement from generation to generation is the reinforcement of her existing gifts. She needs to rekindle among her members all the gifts of the one Spirit, which Saint Paul mentions to the Corinthians: "now there are diversities of gifts but the same Spirit, and there are differences of administrations but the same Lord."

The rekindling of the gifts of the Spirit make the members of the Church able to use them for the renewal of the world in every age. As the maintenance of the deposit of the faith enables the Church to keep her integrity and satisfy the majority of her members, so the rekindling

of the growth of the Spirit in her members enables her to fulfill her creative and renewing task in the world.

To be more specific, we may refer to the alleged liturgical problem in the life of the Orthodox Church today. The long services may raise some objections, but in no way should they be shortened. The Church may economically (by dispensation) permit Christians to come to church services later than their commencement, but she does not, and will not prevent anyone who loves to follow the beautiful hymns of Matins and other services in the daily office from attending church from the start. Instead of establishing shorter services, which would be deprived of the essential elements of the liturgical tradition of our church, it is better to preserve the full contents and length of what we have, while granting permission to Christians to attend church at their earliest convenience. If we should make the mistake of shortening the services, we can be sure that we would face impoverishment and even corruption and death of our Orthodox tradition. Such a mistake was made first by the Protestants and was later repeated by the Roman Catholics who have become poorer than ever. It would be no exaggeration to say that these diminutions in the prayer life of the non-Orthodox churches has meant the expulsion of the holy Gospel and of Christ himself from the life of the Church, in a way that Christianity as a whole is undergoing a deep crisis.

We Orthodox should not be deceived by the weak reformist and destructive spirit of the times. Our tradition is not founded upon such weak and transient spirits, but upon the Spirit of God, who vivifies and renews all things.

Liturgical life brings us into the presence of the Holy Spirit, because it is the creation of the Holy Paraclete. The liturgical space, time and act, together with all their contents, the church buildings, the hagiography, the sacred vessels, the *akolouthias* of the daily office, the ritual of the sacraments and, especially, the offertory and Holy Communion contribute decisively to the liveliness of the faith and to the vitality of the Church and constitute the revelation of God to the world.

The Christian teaching must remain intact, as established from the beginning, because it is foundational for the Church. Any renewal which constitutes an infringement of the foundation of the Church is utterly inadmissible. No one can lay down any other foundation than that which was laid from the beginning by Christ, preached by the Apostles, and kept by the Fathers. These are simple things and are well known in our simple language, as things well established, sanctified, and inspired; they are sacred and, above all, irreplaceable.

We must be careful as to the source wherefrom we draw our power.

In no way should we imitate others. We shall always draw from Orthodox sources, the Orthodox tradition and the familiar in order to maintain the integrity of the Christian truth unimpaired.

Insistence on the tradition enables us to learn more easily the form and the power of our ecclesiastical life. Our traditional concern and sentiments are ultimately related to our connections with our fellow-Christians. It is Christ's great gift to us which guides us to the common chalice, whereby we may all become one body to the glory of God the Father.

It is no bondage to be firmly attached to divine grace. This grace makes us truly free and enables us to overcome both individual and social difficulties and to create a new life which differentiates us from everything that falls short of the truth and glory of God as it is revealed in Christ.

We must maintain, at all costs, the faith and grace once delivered to the saints which the Church keeps and administers under the masterly guidance of the Holy Spirit. The Church cannot sanctify if she is not herself holy. This is achieved when the Church remains united with her Lord, when all Christians, and especially the clergy, remain under the power of the Holy Spirit and always remember that they are his bearers. Everywhere and always we must commence with the invocation of the Holy Spirit, privately and publicly, at the commencement of any work, whether eating, or walking, or speaking, or thinking. We must remember that the Holy Spirit is to be our Companion, secretly teaching us to be a good example to others, faithful and unfaithful, and to make the presence of God humanly alive in human society and in the whole world.

We must not forget, however, that the operation of the Holy Spirit is not restricted by our invocation. The act of the Holy Spirit is regulated by God's wisdom and always aims at our salvation. Although we do not know his path and his time of operation, we are aware of his presence in everyone who has been baptized into his name and the name of the Trinity and, especially, in those who are associated with his church.

The confidence of the Church lies in the fact that the Holy Spirit is her unfailing guide. He is acting according to his unfailing plan, for the salvation and renewal of the world.

Political regimes are guided by materialistic interests. For this reason, they easily change the structure of society. Sometimes they do not hesitate to abolish entire states and even nations. They cannot, however, abolish the power of the Church, which is not from this world but from God. The Church can and will overcome all the evil machinations of the world because she has the Eternal King as her leader.

We may express our sentiments and power of faith in a variety of new ways, but all these must always comply with the established Apostolic tradition. We may not disgrace the traditional religious feeling and customs of the people of God in seeking to express the faith in new ways. In such a case, our novelty will be doomed with failure. Continuity in the Church is indispensable.

The life of the Church is a coherent process with a definite beginning of definite stages of creativity throughout the centuries. The Church has a continuous God-inspired history which she cannot denounce, as political movements can do with their histories. The Church is the creation of an eternal and indestructible Kingdom, which cannot be overlooked by any of us who claim to be sincere inheritors of the Orthodox tradition. This means that we cannot be allies with any worldly power which does not acknowledge the sovereignty of the Church's kingdom.

It is the purity of the past which makes it commendable to us. It is the purity of the Fathers of the Church which binds the Orthodox Church with the history of salvation.

Our nation may appear to be inconsistent with its past, and the same may be said of other nations. Our church, however, always remains consistent, inasmuch as it remains unshakably and consistently up-to-date, sincerely faithful to the voice of her holy forefathers. The Fathers of the Church are also the Fathers of our nation, to such an extent that, from the side of the Church, our nation has no other *raison d'être* but to serve the Church and bring salvation to the entire human race. Our holy Orthodox Fathers have taught us that to be Greek is to be Orthodox and to be Orthodox is to be a man in God's service for the salvation of all humanity.

The idea that the Orthodox Church may be asked to replace our nation at certain periods of national or social anomalies should constitute the Church's permanent consciousness. The messianic mission of our Church must be always the force which inspires our nation. Thus the Church will support the weak and supply what is lacking. The Orthodox Church has done this in the past and will do it again in the future. This must be in the consciousness of those who love our nation and acknowledge that our Church, as the religious, ethical and social factor of our life, has to remain unadulterated.

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Orthodox-Lutheran Relations: Their Historical Beginnings

JOHN TRAVIS

INTRODUCTION

ORTHODOX AND PROTESTANTS have been seriously talking to each other since the embryonic stages of the ecumenical movement. This is not to say that relations were nonexistent prior to the twentieth century. Both have encountered each other as early as the sixteenth century. The purpose of this paper, then, entitled "Orthodox-Lutheran Relations: Their Historical Beginnings," is to focus on these historical contacts and draw some conclusions, theological or otherwise, which can be used as points of clarification or reflection in the continuing theological and dialogical exploration presently underway between Orthodox and Lutheran ecumenical partners.

It will be impossible to cover, even in a cursory manner, all contacts from 1555 to the present.¹ Rather, it will be more constructive, first, to recover three historical contacts, 1555-1607, 1620, and 1836, which illustrate the evolutionary tenor of these historical beginnings; second, to characterize these beginnings; third, to isolate the theological issues of one of these contacts, namely, the correspondence between Constantinople and Tübingen in the sixteenth century; and fourth, to offer an assessment of this early ecumenical experiment.

The subtitle, "Their Historical Beginnings," has been deliberately selected as a reaction to a modernistic prejudice which has sometimes made its way into ecumenical discussions. Camouflaged under a methodology which seeks new answers to old problems, this prejudice proclaims an 'a-historical' approach which does not consider the lessons of the past. Its simplistic triumphalism works against it because it encapsulizes all of us in a sterile present whose vision is too myopic for

¹ See Robert I. Tobias, "Contacts between Lutherans and Orthodox, 1519-1978," paper presented at the Lutheran-Orthodox Dialogue, New York, December 1983. (Mimeographed.)

the possibilities of a constructive future. If we are responsibly to shape a new dimension for the future, we must also understand the struggles of the past by recovering its mindset (*phronema*) as it speaks to us.

The subtitle can also be regarded as a sign of hope which reveals that the historical period under investigation is a 'good' beginning. While not revealing positive unifying solutions all at once, this beginning does point to the spirit of dialogue whose purpose is to mend the garment of Christ by bringing us closer to the unity of faith and love.

Finally, the nomenclature 'relations' which is a neutral term, is used open-endedly to include the locutions: contact, discussion, debate, apologetics, discourse, communiqué, and dialogue. In the history of Orthodox-Lutheran relations, it is apparent that these terms are not used synonymously. Theological dialogue is more often than not set within a larger cultural and political context which affects the way of doing theology. So, in dealing with these relations, we must keep these nuances in mind because they suggest different intentions, goals, and consequences.

THREE HISTORICAL CONTACTS BETWEEN ORTHODOX AND LUTHERANS

The historical contact of 1555-1607

A chronology that highlights certain important dates is most useful for understanding this complex period. In 1558 (1559), Patriarch Joasaph II (1555-65) of Constantinople sent Deacon Demetrios Mysos to Wittenberg to gather first hand opinions about the faith, worship, and customs of the Reformers. It was there that Melanchthon and Mysos worked together on the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession.³ At this juncture, contacts began which later developed into a many-sided correspondence between Constantinople and the Reformers.

² Modern works consulted include: E. Benz, "Mélanchthon et l'église orthodoxe," *Irénikon* 29 (1956): 164-76; G. Florovsky, "An Early Ecumenical Correspondence (Patriarch Jeremiah II and the Lutheran Divines)," *World Lutheranism of Today: A Tribute to Anders Nygren 15 November 1950*, Stockholm (1950), pp. 98-111; idem, "The Greek Version of the Augsburg Confession," *Lutheran World* 6 (1959-60): 153-55; W. J. Jorgenson, "The *Augustana Graeca* and the Correspondence between the Tübingen Lutherans and Patriarch Jeremias: Scripture and Tradition in Theological Methodology" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1979); J. Karmiris, *Orthodoxia kai Protestantismos*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1937), pp. 17-136; idem, "Ho Loutheros kai ho Melanchthon peri tes Orthodoxou Ekklesias," *Theologia* 34 (1963): 7-25, 196-213, 359-89; G. Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople: The Correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession*, (Brookline, Ma., 1982); I. E. Mesoloras, *Symbolike tes Orthodoxou Anatolikes Ekklesias: Ta Symbolika Biblia*, 1 vol. (Athens, 1883), pp. 78-123; C. Papadopoulos, "Scheseis Orthodoxon kai Diamartyromenon apo Hieremiu II mechri Kyrillou Loukareos," *Nea Sion* 21 (1926): 65-81, 129-44, 356-71, 401-16.

³For determining Melanchthon's responsibility for this translation, see Florovsky, "Greek Version."

In 1573, the new imperial ambassador to Constantinople, Baron David Ungnad von Sonnegk, accompanied by a Lutheran chaplain, Stephan Gerlach, carried private letters from Martin Crusius and Jakob Andreae which were presented to Patriarch Jeremias.

The years 1574-82 marked the period of the theological correspondence between Constantinople and Tübingen. The *dramatis personae* reveal a diverse and colorful interplay. On the Lutheran side, Jakob Andreae (1528-90) was the most famous theologian of the period. Spurning cryptocalvinism, he worked unceasingly for unity and purity in Lutheran doctrine. Together with Martin Chemnitz and Nicholas Selnecker, he produced the Formula of Concord in 1577. The father of the formula—as well as of eighteen children—he exhibited all the characteristics of a powerful preacher and theologian, and was self-assured and witty, a loyal Lutheran who avoided novelty and originality.

The second most important personality was Martin Crusius (1526-1607). He was a leading classicist and philhellene in Europe, shaped in the humanistic mold of the Renaissance.⁴ As Melancthon before him, Crusius was well suited to come in contact with that strange 'Greek' Church, an epithet given the Orthodox *millet* by Luther.

On the Orthodox side, the most celebrated figure was Jeremias II, re-elected to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople three times (1572-79, 1580-84, and 1586-95). Born in 1536 near the Black Sea, he had special affinity for the study of scripture, as his biographer, Manuel Malaxos, mentions. Jeremias became metropolitan of Larisa in 1568 where he remained until May 1572. As patriarch, he earned the name *Tranos* (the articulate one) by fighting against simony which had troubled his predecessor, Metrophanes. During his tenure, Jeremias surrounded himself with learned men who were steeped in Greek and Latin thought. In fact, he was the first to found a publishing house in Constantinople.

A caricature of Jeremias is preserved by Gerlach in his diary, *Türkisches Tagebuch*, which illustrates once again how impressions do shape attitudinal reactions toward dialogue. At his first meeting with the patriarch on 15 October 1573, the Lutheran chaplain was not only impressed with Jeremias' erudition but also with his physical stature: "He is a friendly and charming man, robust and tall, with a fat face and long brown and red hair, a rather full but not very long brown beard, and he carries a black patriarch's staff."⁵

⁴ Crusius maintained his Greek by his extraordinary practice of simultaneously translating German sermons into classical Greek.

⁵ *Türkisches Tagebuch aus seinem eigenändig aufgesetzt und nachgelassenen Schriften, herfürgegeben durch seinen Enkel M. Samuel Gerlach* (Frankfurt, 1674), p. 29, trans. Jorgenson, p. 64.

Others who helped Jeremias draft the responses included Meletios Pegas, who later became patriarch of Alexandria, and the father-son team, Joannes (1498-1581) and Theodosios Zygomalas (1544-1614). The elder under Patriarch Joasaph II held the position of "interpreter (*rhetor*) of the Great Church of Christ" in Constantinople and was knowledgeable in patristic commentary on scripture. The son, as patriarchal protonotary, proved to be the capable secretary of Jeremias, handling written communications as well as drafting the text of the responses.⁶

Included in this select group of patriarchal confidants were Maximos Margounios (1602) and Gabriel Severos, metropolitan of Philadelphia (1616), both Roman Catholic sympathizers. Margounios was openly pro-unionist, and this was an embarrassment in light of Jeremias' overtures toward Protestantism. Margounios' pro-Roman stance probably dates back to his years of priestly service to the Greek Orthodox community in Venice.⁷

The twenty-fourth of May, 1575 marks the second visit of Gerlach to the patriarchate and the official presentation of the Augsburg Confession.⁸ An interesting prosopography is again recorded in Gerlach's diary which preserves the initial impressions made on both parties. After reading the first five articles of the confession aloud before the synod and commenting on several points, the patriarch gave his blessing and promised Gerlach that he would study the document and write a response.

The response came on 15 May 1576. Fifty years had passed since Luther reacted against Rome, and forty-six since his followers drafted the Augsburg Confession. By 1576 the confessions were already established, and their authoritative status required their proponents to defend them 'apologetically.'

A shift in politics and attitudes occurred after the second patriarchal response in 1579. Gerlach wrote scandalous things—partly true—about his Greek friends, specifically Zygomalas, which can only be

⁶ For the colorful escapades of this family, see K. I. Dyobouniotes, "Theodosios Zygomalas," *Theologia* 1 (1923): 18-40.

⁷ The Greek version of the Augsburg Confession created a stir even outside of this select company of theologians. Michael Kantakouzenos, a Greek political despot, after receiving a copy, had it leatherbound in red and ordered it to be translated into the modern Greek vernacular.

⁸ The document was known to the patriarch since the fall of 1574 when the Reformers sent it to Constantinople with an accompanying letter in which they requested him "to clarify these [articles] with a favorable judgment, if God would have us agree in Christ concerning these things" (*Acta et scripta theologorum Wirtembergensium et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae: quae utrique ab anno MDLXXVI usque ad annum MDLXXXI de augustana confessione inter se miserunt: graeca et latine ab iisdem theologis edita* [Wittenberg, 1584], p. 1; hereafter referred to as *Acta*).

interpreted as an expression of his disappointment in the lack of progress in relations between Tübingen and Constantinople. During this same period, Crusius left Constantinople to discuss reformed teaching and doctrine with Meletios Pegas in Alexandria, and later with Patriarch Sophronios in Jerusalem. So, while contacts remained cordial with Constantinople, the role of the Reformers changed.

With Jeremias' exile in 1584, the dialogue shifted to a larger orbit of conflicting political gains which involved others besides Tübingen and Constantinople. That same year, the reformers published the *Acta et scripta theologorum Wirtembergensium* as a reaction against Jesuit efforts to thwart Lutheran-Orthodox relations. These efforts were initiated by a pro-Roman Catholic, Polish national, Stanislaw Socolovius who somehow seized upon the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession and used it against Constantinople, accusing the patriarchate of accepting bribes from the Protestants.

Soon thereafter, Crusius published his *Turcograecia* which was not well received by his Greek friends. They soon discovered that some of their private correspondence found itself in print—a fact which cooled their enthusiasm to share anything further with this western lover of Greek learning.

Ascending once again the patriarchal throne in 1586, Jeremias found that diplomatic politics, more than ever before, shaped ecclesiastical policy. As ecumenical deliberations of a theological nature continued, these non-theological factors weighed heavily on ecclesiastical alliances. Poland proved to be the political testing ground on which culminated the recognition of the Uniates by the pro-Roman Catholic Polish regime in 1596 (Union of Brest). During this interim, however, local factions vying for support from the West and the East brought Jeremias into the picture as well.

The Orthodox cooperated as freedom fighters in common cause with the Protestants against the Roman Catholics in Poland. Even though the Orthodox were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople, they did not have any legal status in Poland. Meanwhile, Rome sent Antonio Possevino, a supporter of the Uniates in Poland, to Moscow, hoping to woo Russia in a pro-Roman alliance with Poland and encouraging it to participate in the projected offensive against the Ottomans.

It was expected that the Orthodox under the Turkish yoke would become more than disinterested spectators in the fortunes of Poland. Their patriarch made an unexpected visit to Moscow in 1589 which resulted in raising Russia to the status of a new patriarchate with the election of Job. Recognized by the other patriarchs in the East, this action was resented by Poland, and, of course, by Rome. The visit was a political victory for the patriarch; his support of Russia and sympathy for the

Protestants in Poland became an impetus to continue friendly contacts with the Lutheran divines upon his return from Moscow.

Even after the death of Jeremias in 1595, the Polish Protestants continued their overtures for union with the Orthodox, seeking direct communication with Meletios Pegas, the locum tenens of Constantinople (1597-98), and later, Mathaios II (1598-1602). Most probably, they had in mind the earlier correspondence between Jeremias and the Tübingen theologians. Constantinople's interest was more than cursory. As early as Jeremias, there was an official patriarchal representative to Poland helping the Orthodox resistance. His name was Cyril Loukaris, future patriarch of Alexandria.

The period between 1602 and 1607 marked an estrangement in the dialogical efforts between Constantinople and Tübingen. After the death of Meletios, Crusius found it difficult to learn more news from the East. Could this be attributed to the heightened suspicions of his Greek friends who feared that he might publish their private letters as he did before? The only one remaining from the earlier period of contacts was Crusius, who now expressed his own disillusionment over the unsuccessful attempts at dialogue. One thing was inevitable. With his death in 1607, dialogue on dogmatic issues, as witnessed between the German Reformers and Jeremias, was a closed chapter. Contacts between the Orthodox East and the Protestant West shifted from Tübingen to other European centers, specifically, Geneva and England (Trinity and Baliol Colleges).

The historical contact of 1620

The new czar, Michael Romanov, planned to marry his daughter to the Danish Lutheran prince, Valdemar. The synod of Moscow in 1620, however, did not recognize baptism outside of the Orthodox Church. It was a practical issue, but, nonetheless, an important one which questioned the validity of the sacrament. Theological discussion followed between the prince's chaplain, Faulhaber, and the Orthodox. The dialogue, as Florovsky assesses, "was not so much an ecumenical exchange of ideas as a confessional dispute, yet it gave an opportunity for frank discussion of agreements and disagreements between the two churches, Orthodox and Lutheran."⁹ The marriage proposals, finally, broke down when Valdemar refused to be rebaptized.

The historical contact of 1836

The encyclical of 1836 is the third example of contact between

⁹ G. Florovsky, "The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement prior to 1910," in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*, eds. R. Rouse and S. C. Neill (London, 1954); reprint ed., *Collected Works of Georges Florovsky*, vol. 2: *Christianity and Culture* (Belmont, Ma., 1974), p. 187.

Orthodox and Lutherans in their historical beginnings.¹⁰ Published by the synod of Constantinople under Gregory VI and the following year by the synod of Greece, the document warned the Orthodox of the Protestants' proselytizing efforts. The Reformers' program included the establishment of schools in Orthodox lands as well as a Protestant center in Jerusalem, the translation of scripture into the vernacular, the distribution of religious literature, and the organization of lectures. Unlike the interlocutors of the sixteenth century, the synod of Constantinople outlined the practical, rather than the theoretical, differences between Orthodoxy and Protestantism. Its polemic, quite different from the earlier writings, must be interpreted in light of the twofold danger which the Church faced: the Ottomans and the western missionaries. In the Church's mind, the latter's ultimate aim was the 'protestantization' of the Orthodox East. The synod's immediate reaction, then, was to put an end to this effort, but not necessarily to close the missionaries' facilities. After proselytism subsided, friendly relations resumed.

The encyclical refers to the founders of Protestantism, including Luther, in a most unflattering way. Its prologue opens in a grandiose indictment warning the Church against the wiles of the devil, whose followers are none other than the heretics. These "apostles of the evil one" are intent "on polluting and warping the holy and heavenly dogmas of our theanthropic Savior, and, if possible, on leading astray the Orthodox who preserve those dogmas in piety."¹¹

The synod alerts the faithful against these present-day heretics by naming Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Michael Servetus, and the Socinians. Concerning Luther, particular attention is directed to the violation of his monastic vows and his critique of the 'angelic state,' which resulted in his marrying a former nun, Catherine, in 1525.

After discussing the teaching of each heretic, the synod outlines a two-step proposal. First, each bishop is to summon within his own province an ecclesiastical-spiritual committee, comprised of learned and zealous churchmen who will embark upon a program of educating their flock in accordance with the guidelines of the recently established patriarchal committee. Second, each cleric is to alert parents not to send their children to "heterodox schools." The study of the Septuagint and original Greek New Testament must be accompanied by that of the writings of the fathers. To combat the imminent threat of innovation to the Church, this polemic closely connected the Church to the nation, family, and culture. Thus, the heterodox became "corruptors of

¹⁰ J. Karmiris, *Ta dogmatika kai symbolika mnemeia tes Orthodoxou Katholikes Ekklesias*, 2 vols., 2d rev. ed. (Graz, 1968) 2: 873-92.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 874.

Orthodoxy and nation."¹² Most significantly, these unifying elements, as articulated in the encyclical of 1836, became identified with the efforts of national liberation and independence which began to emerge in the Balkans during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

CHARACTERIZATION OF THESE BEGINNINGS

These three historical contacts illustrate the complexity as well as the evolution of relations between the Orthodox and Lutherans. The relations appeared to be many-sided. Mutual visits, official and unofficial correspondence, in the form of 'epistolary' theology, student exchanges at universities, use of embassies, chaplaincies, and facilities in the publication of religious tracts, the establishment of orphanages and schools are illustrative of the multidimensionality which these endeavors assumed. On the one hand, they contributed to advancing the relations to a more positive awareness of each other; on the other hand, as Metropolitan Chrysostom Constantinides of Myra contends, they created 'theological vacuums' inadequate for theological dialogue.¹³

The 1836 reaction proved that theological dialogue could very easily degenerate into political opportunism, especially under the inadmissible guise of proselytism. Whether these initial contacts and the theological dialogue generated from them ought to be seen as 'lost opportunities,'¹⁴ is a judgment which remains to be made. Surely, if these contacts are viewed within a continuum of *growing* awareness between Orthodox and Lutherans, two constants can be detected: the impressions which each has of the other and the consequences of these impressions.

What impressed the West about the East? Most importantly, the West looked to the East as to a faithful guardian of the apostolic tradition. The appeal to the East was not initiated by the Reformers. Its precedence was set in the fifteenth century by the Hussites and also by the proponents of the conciliar movement. To invoke the authority of the Greek Church also served the polemic purpose of opposing Roman Catholicism. For the Reformers, this apologetic ploy had the added attraction of bolstering their own position against Rome's. Implicit in this appeal to the East was their charge that Rome had been

¹² Ibid., pp. 884-88.

¹³ "Orthodox problems and prospects in the theological dialogue with Lutheranism (with special reference to Germany)," *The Orthodox Church and the Churches of the Reformation: A survey of Orthodox-Protestant dialogues*, Faith and Order Paper 76 (Geneva, 1975), p. 49.

¹⁴ See J. Meyendorff, "Church and Ministry—for an Orthodox-Lutheran Dialogue," *Dialog* 22 (1983): 114.

unfaithful to the ancient tradition by introducing unwarranted innovations. For the Reformers, the appeal to Orthodoxy was a justification of their own efforts to return to the doctrine and practice of the early Church. This inevitably took on the guise of political opportunism, as seen in the Thirty Years War (1618-48) when Europe was split politically into two hostile camps, and in the role of foreign embassies at Constantinople.

What impressed the East about the West? If the West was interested in moral support, the East looked to the West for political support. Florovsky correctly states that "many of these ecumenical conversations were initiated, not so much because of any immediate theological concern, as from heavy diplomatic pressure arising from the general international situation."¹⁵ Jeremias' role in Poland proves this point. With the establishment of foreign embassies in Constantinople, no political alliance could be realized with any European power without considering the religious consequences. Over any negotiation with the West hung the shadow of political opportunism for the East as well.¹⁶

The political changes brought about by the religious strife in the West were of tremendous interest to the Greeks as they increasingly looked to the West for liberation from the Ottoman yoke. These deplorable circumstances were made worse by the Ottomans. They used this opportunity as a political ploy in pitting a pro-Roman against a pro-Protestant patriarch to insure control over the election of any candidate. As Runciman describes:

In the century from 1595 when Jeremias II ended his last patriarchal reign, to 1695, there were sixty-one changes on the Patriarchal throne, though, as many Patriarchs were reinstated after deposition, there were only thirty-one individual Patriarchs.¹⁷

Evidence of the worsening condition included the annexation and conversion of Christian churches into mosques. The patriarchal church of the Pamakaristos became a mosque of victory for Murad III in 1586, which forced Jeremias, after his re-election to the patriarchate, to renovate the church of St. George in the Phanar quarter; it continues to this day to serve the patriarchal needs.¹⁸

¹⁵ Florovsky, "Orthodox Churches," p. 169.

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁷ S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A study of the patriarchate of Constantinople from the eve of the Turkish conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, (Cambridge, 1968), p. 201.

¹⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 190-91.

The impressions that the East made on the West created an antinomy for the West: a complicated love-hate relation with the East. Bewildered by the low standard of living under the Turkish occupation, unimpressed by religious ritualism which was described as superstitious, the West looked upon the East as not belonging to Europe. Thus, the Reformers' attention increasingly turned to a fresh evangelization of the East. This plan was inaugurated as early as 1555-59 in Moldavia. If Melanchthon's involvement was somewhat camouflaged under the attempts made to reform the Orthodox Church by Basilicus (John I) and Demetrios Mysos, this is not the case with Crusius who, seeing the dialogue between Constantinople and Tübingen degenerate after 1579, departed for the patriarchates of Alexandria and Jerusalem. At the same time, however, the West recognized the East as belonging organically to the Christian world. Its witness and attitude were highly relevant to the life and destiny of Christianity. This, in itself, is an ecumenical achievement of the past, and it must not be underrated.

The West's impression of the East also created an antinomy for the East. Although ecumenical contacts could be initiated with greater facility through Greeks studying abroad, there was also the danger that these scholars were not truly representative of Orthodox tradition, not because they acquired external influences, but more alarmingly, because they became inwardly westernized. Orthodoxy was compelled, then, to clarify its position between Rome and the Reformers. By restating its tradition with direct reference to the West's conflict, it had to remain true to its own tradition, without acquiring the theological mind-set or idiom of the West. Sometimes, this did not happen. One example of "the pseudomorphosis of Orthodox thought"¹⁹ was Peter Moghila's confession which was patterned after the catechesis of the Jesuit, Peter Canisius.

THE THEOLOGICAL ISSUES OF THE 1574-82 CORRESPONDENCE

A series of issues must be addressed before turning to the specific theological points raised in the correspondence between Constantinople and Tübingen. These are first, the presuppositions from which both Jeremias and the Reformers were working; second, the problematics which both sides had to face; third, the underlying hopes of each side; and fourth, the process of breakdown.

The Reformers sought agreement on the principal articles of faith. Scripture was the criterion of truth, and therefore, the arbiter of any differences. The Lutherans worked from the presupposition that they

¹⁹ Expression used by Florovsky in "Orthodox Churches," p. 181.

were in basic agreement with Orthodox doctrine. The obvious divergence, according to them, was in secondary matters, namely, customs and ritual practices. Answering Jeremias' letter in which the patriarch acknowledges receipt of a copy of the Augsburg Confession, Andreae writes in 1575:

If, perhaps, we differ in some customs because of the great geographical distances that separate us, nevertheless, we hope that we have in no way innovated on the principal articles of salvation. As far as we know, we have both embraced and preserved the faith which has been handed down [to us] by the holy apostles and prophets, the God-bearing fathers and patriarchs, and the seven [ecumenical] synods that were built upon the God-given scriptures (*Acta* 3).

Thus, the intent of the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession was to connect Lutheran doctrine with patristic tradition. This remained a constant and deep conviction throughout the correspondence.

Many of the new issues which Protestantism raised were not specifically examined in the writings of the fathers. Thus, the problem which Jeremias faced was how to establish Orthodoxy's position vis a vis Protestantism armed only with the apostolic teaching of the Church. The Reformer's, on the other hand, were very sensitive to the accusation of being innovators, rather than traditionalists. If they were elated with Jeremias' first letter which reached Tübingen on 4 January 1575, and which did not accuse them, as did the Roman Catholics, of being innovators, this was not the case by 1577. This short-lived jubilation gave way to a concern evident throughout the remaining correspondence; namely, how to convince the Orthodox otherwise. In the first reply from Tübingen to Jeremias, Osiander writes:

We do not innovate on any matter of faith, but believe and teach all that is written and contained in the books of the prophets and apostles. . . . Nothing, in fact, happens to be more ancient, or true, or simple, or certain than this teaching. So, may the heavenly and most philanthropic Lord grant the grace that this exposition which we have written, an exposition of God-sent teaching, may be to your liking and seem sufficient to your holiness (*Acta* 199).

The underlying hopes of each side were modified as the dialogue continued. The crux of the separation between East and West in the past had been over the issue of papal supremacy. The Reformers represented a new anti-Roman movement in the West. The Orthodox could hope that this might be channeled to a return to that earlier tradition which the East had steadfastly maintained.

The Lutherans hoped that “even though our respective homelands separate us considerably, we become close to each other in our contact (*synapheia*) with orthodoxy” (*Acta* 3). They were ultimately disappointed with the patriarch’s response. In the course of the correspondence they offered more explanations by supplying the patriarch with new information in order to justify that sound doctrine had indeed been formulated in the Augsburg Confession. An impasse occurred in 1581 with the patriarch’s refusal to discuss doctrinal issues further:

We request that from now on you cease to burden us by writing about these things. Indeed, at some point you should make different use of these luminaries and theologians of the church. While you honor and exalt them with [your] words, you deny them with [your] actions. You [attempt] to show our arsenal to be useless; and that arsenal is their [these luminaries’] holy and divine discourses with which we would both write and contradict you. So, we ask that you relieve us of these concerns. Go about your own way, and no longer write us about dogmatic issues, but correspond only if you should desire to do so for friendship’s sake. Farewell (*Acta* 370).

The process of the breakdown can be seen summarily in each answer and reply. In contrast to the initial optimism of the Reformers, the patriarch displays an uncommitted stance in his first answer. While there is fundamental agreement as to the ecumenical venture of dialogue, this is not the case with respect to the overall content of Lutheran doctrine. It is defective because its adherents do not heed all the Church’s teachings, both written and unwritten. The debatable issues are cast within the larger context; namely, what is consistent with Orthodox doctrine versus what is innovative. The Reformers’ teaching, being discontinuous with Orthodox doctrine, is innovative, and therefore, doctrinally in error.

Disappointed with the Orthodox Church’s alignment with Rome in its accusation that the Reformers are innovators, the latter in their first reply had one recourse: to present a fuller explanation of their faith. “We will choose firm and inerrant arguments for our opinion which compel our conscience thus to understand the articles of faith” (*Acta* 148). The consistent tenet was to find the one norm for theology: the revealed word of God. This norm, they argued, does not make them innovators: “With God’s help, we will defend our opinion by presenting not things that we have dreamt up, but the authentic exposition and interpretation of the words received from the holy scriptures” (*Acta* 147). The dialogue now shifts from seeking union to making a point: apologetics.

Jeremias never offered a direct response to Jakob Heerbrand's *Compendium theologiae* which was sent to him in October 1577. The translation was sponsored by both Gerlach and Crusius who hoped that it would serve to supplement the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession by explaining completely Lutheran orthodoxy in contrast to Roman Catholicism. The reasons which prohibited Jeremias from referring to this document in his second response—reasons which could have made a difference in the direction the dialogue was taking—remain obscure. One thing, however, remains clear at this juncture in the breakdown; namely, the agenda itself is restricted to six topics: filioque, free will, justification by faith and good works, sacraments, invocation of the saints, and monastic life.

Even though cordiality never disappears, the Lutherans too in their second reply limit the agenda to six topics. The correspondence enters into the realm of antirrhetics. Ending with a resounding "amen," the second reply almost bears the stamp of a confession of faith.

Jeremias offers little new argumentation in his third and final answer which assumes the form of a list of patristic quotations (*florilegium*). He renews the accusation of heresy and innovation by appealing to the fathers. In addition, he slanders the Lutherans, for the first time, by accusing them of being 'Judaizers' because of their contempt for icons and the saints' relics as well as their preference for the Masoretic text rather than the Septuagint.

The Lutherans in their third and final reply, for the first time, address not only Jeremias but his advisors as well. The breakdown of dialogue becomes evident in the closing lines of the salutation:

Now we come to your response to our tract. As a brief epilogue, we inquire into it, though not suffering from obstinacy and difficulties—far be such from us. Rather, we are drawn together by the need to witness to the truth in brief, having already entrusted you with our views at length in the previous two letters. We thus point out to you that our tract will neither today nor ever be revised (*Acta* 371-72).

The reply becomes an apology for the faith which summarizes their doctrine and, finally, rejects the accusations of heresy, schism, and Judaism.

Set within this framework of presuppositions, tempered expectations, and frustrated hopes, the theological issues surprisingly covered a wide spectrum. Not all were equally discussed. These may be categorized under points of agreement and disagreement. The points of agreement are 1) the question of the fundamental authority, inspiration,

and translation of scripture into the language of the people; 2) God and the teaching of the Trinity; 3) ancestral sin (*propatorike hamartia*) (*Acta* 63) and its transmission to humankind; 4) man, not God, as the cause of evil; 5) the two natures of Christ; 6) Christ as the head of the Church; 7) the reality of eschatology, the second coming, judgment and future life, as well as the endlessness of rewards and punishments; 8) the reception of the eucharist in both elements; 9) the rejection of papal satisfactions, indulgences, treasury of the saints, purgatory fire, and compulsory clerical celibacy.

The points of disagreement are 1) tradition; 2) filioque; 3) free will; 4) divine predestination; 5) justification; 6) the number of sacraments; 7) baptism by immersion versus sprinkling or pouring, and the immediate sacrament of chrismation and reception of the eucharist by the neophyte; 8) the meaning of change in the eucharist and the use of unleavened bread; 9) the infallibility of the Church and the ecumenical synods; and 10) the veneration and invocation of the saints; their feasts, icons and relics; and finally, other ecclesiastical traditions and customs.²⁰

The following theological issues can be isolated from this list and highlighted for further discussion: 1) the filioque; 2) the nature of the Church; 3) the nature of the sacraments; 4) chrismation; 5) eucharist; 6) confession; 7) man's will, justification and good works; 8) priesthood; and 9) the invocation of the saints.

As the correspondence assumed the character of apologetics which weakened the initial hopes for Church union, the filioque became almost the pivotal issue of the dialogue.²¹ The Orthodox, unlike the Lutherans, distinguish clearly between the essence and the energies of God. Also, they do not confuse the gifts of the Holy Spirit with his person. According to Jeremias, the error of his interlocutors rests with confusing the eternal procession with the temporal mission of the Spirit, thereby obscuring the distinct personal essence of each hypostasis. This obfuscation would divide the internal life of the Trinity, and thereby, reduce it to an aggregate composed of mutual relations of generation and procession. The debate, familiar in past Orthodox and Roman Catholic encounters, was something new for the Reformers. The result was that both sides remained unimpressed with each other's arguments

²⁰ See Karmiris, *Orthodoxia*, pp. 120-21; also, Jorgenson, pp. 84-85, who adds: "This summary is a gross (but helpful!) oversimplification, and that there is some disagreement in the "Agreement," and some agreement in the "Disagreement." Under disagreement, private confession to a father confessor must also be included.

²¹ Jorgenson notes that twenty percent of the correspondence dealt with the filioque debate (p. 134).

over the filioque.²²

Jeremias maintained that there is a doctrinal authenticity in the nature of the Church confirmed by the Holy Spirit. The sacramental life is the expression of the participatory fullness of the Church. "For that in which the life in Christ consists, it is believed, has both its beginning and its future perfection in and through these [sacraments]" (*Acta* 238). The affirmation that the sacraments are seven is important for Jeremias²³ because it is indeed a confirmation that the Church is manifested 'fully' as a unity of faith, worship, and administration. Moreover, the Church is the guardian and interpreter of divine revelation as recorded in the scriptures. The synods are extraordinary charismatic events assembled in the Spirit to confirm panygirically the living teaching of the Church.

If Jeremias envisioned the nature of the Church with a very clear doctrinal content and canonical structure, this was not so with the Lutherans. Their emphasis continued to be the word and the sacrament. They regarded neither the fathers nor the synods as having the binding authority of the word and sacrament.

We have even brought forth clear demonstrations [showing] that the writings of the holy fathers and the dogmas of the synods cannot have the same power and authority as the holy scriptures; but they are acceptable as long as they are in accord with the holy scriptures (*Acta* 265).

The Reformers' contention that

if some regard divine scripture to be sufficient, believe and desire to do those things which it teaches them to believe and do, then by no means must they be placed in the category of heretics, even though they do not accept everything which has been said by the holy fathers or promulgated by the synods (*Acta* 158),

raises, finally, an important question of wherein lies ecclesial reality. If doctrine and worship are the distinguishing features of the Church—

²² While Jeremias in his third response writes: "Although we are well informed by your letters that you will never be able to agree with us; or rather, to assent to the truth" (*Acta* 350), the Reformers reply: "Please do not be angry, but to date, we have not received any well-founded and informed reply to these and other arguments presented in our letter" (*Acta* 373).

²³ The numbering of the sacraments as seven had not come into general acceptance until after the Council of Lyons (1274); see P. Trembelas, *Dogmatike tes Orthodoxou Katholikes Ekklesias*, 3 vols. (Athens, 1961), 3:61-62.

a visible gathering whose cornerstone is Christ—then the Reformers' desire that they be exonerated of any heretical affiliation implicitly raises the question of what constitutes the fullness of the Church, which, for Jeremias, is the unbroken continuity with patristic tradition.

As to the nature of the sacrament, Jeremias' description is consistent with the apostolic and patristic emphasis on the inseparableness of restoration, sanctification, and salvation. For the Lutherans, the emphasis is on the word "conjoined with some sensible symbol" (*Acta* 173). Three sacraments, chrismation, the eucharist, and confession, suffice to illustrate the divergence between these two ways of understanding the nature of the sacrament.

For Jeremias, chrismation "imprints upon the soul the primal seal as well as [that which was created] according to the likeness and its vigor—all of which we had lost because of disobedience" (*Acta* 78). Unlike the Lutherans, who consider anointing to be merely an external sign, Jeremias understands it within the temporal unity of the faithful's initiation, baptism, and chrismation into the Christian Church. In other words, we are anointed in order to be restored to the image of God. The "sign and seal of Christ" (*Acta* 78) is a profound, visible indication of our *theosis*: namely, our becoming "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Peter 1.4). For the Lutherans, however, chrismation is "an invention of the church" (*Acta* 314). The gifts of the Holy Spirit are received at baptism, and nowhere else. They are increased by the daily hearing of and diligent meditation on the word of God. In place of chrismation, the Reformers propose pious prayers and moral teaching for children.

While there is disagreement on the use of leavened and unleavened bread, the mixing of water with wine, as well as the imparting of communion to infants and children, Jeremias and the Reformers differ also in their perception of the nature of the eucharistic sacrifice. For the Orthodox, the eucharist is not only sacrificial, but also has a character of praise, thanksgiving, and petition offered for both the living and the dead. Even though Jeremias uses the locutions 'sign,' 'operation,' 'eidos,' and 'species' to describe the sacrament—a usage probably influenced by Gabriel Severos, one of his pro-Latin advisors—he employs, nevertheless, the traditional patristic term *metabole* (change) rather than *metousiosis*, a term later identified with transubstantiation. Moreover, the patriarch sees the change taking place "by the *epiklesis* and grace of the Spirit [who is both] all-powerful and the chief celebrant, through the divine and sacred prayers and words" (*Acta* 86).

To be sure, the Lutherans, nurtured in western Roman Catholicism, did not appreciate the distinguishing features of the eucharistic celebration which brings "the whole [of redemption] before their very eyes"

(Acta 97). That the patriarch gives such a lengthy description of the Byzantine eucharistic liturgy proves that, unlike the simplified outline of the Reformers' service which aims at a minimum of ceremonial distractions and emphasizes the hearing of the word, the Holy Eucharist is not considered apart from those awesome and divine ceremonies which prepare the faithful to receive sanctification worthily.²⁴ "The whole sacred ceremony (*mystagogia*), is like a single icon of one body—of the Savior's way of life (*politeias*) in all its components, from beginning to end, each ordered and harmonized with the other components" (Acta 97).

Holy Confession illustrates again the divergence between the eastern and western understanding of the nature of the sacraments. Both Orthodox and Reformers agree as to the need for repentance (*metanoia*), but they disagree concerning the role of the priest in confession in the process of the sinner's repentance. If the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession concedes that a priest can impart individual sacramental absolution, this is not the consensus of the Reformers who by the second reply clearly maintain that the enumeration of sins before a father confessor is unnecessary as long as one confesses "in a general and heartfelt way" (Acta 324). General confession is sufficient:

Prior to partaking of the Lord's supper and led by the minister's (*diakonou*) exhortations, the whole gathering of the people is accustomed to making a general declaration of errors, in which they make their confession before God. After this declaration, made both privately and publicly, follows the remission (*exagoreusei*) of sins (Acta 324).²⁵

For Jeremias, however, there is an intimate bond between the priesthood and sanctification, as well as one between restoration through confession and sanctification: "This is a great gift for those who sin after baptism" (Acta 242).

²⁴ Jeremias proceeds beyond a description of the order of service taken from Nikolaos Cabasilas to argue in favor of liturgical uniformity: "It is necessary that every Christian church celebrate the liturgy in this way" (Acta 103). The byzantinization of the liturgical rite in the entire Orthodox Church by the fourteenth and fifteenth century is a reflection in part of the new jurisdictional position of the Constantinopolitan patriarch as *ethnarch*, which guaranteed the political and religious integrity of the Orthodox *millet* under Muslim subjugation. Interestingly enough, inflexibility for the sake of uniformity in rubric can be detected in Jeremias' refusal to accept the Reformers' argument for affusion rather than immersion in baptism. There were, indeed, pastoral considerations which were foremost in their minds that prohibited a change in the custom already prevalent in the "northern churches of Germany": "We consider it wrong that a difference in the way of baptizing—which certainly does not destroy the essence of the sacrament—should provide a pretext for schism among those who bear the name of Christ" (Acta 313).

²⁵ The first definition of *exagoreusis* implies a forensic sense of ransom, atonement.

The Lutherans were experiencing their own theological doubts concerning their position on man's will, justification, and good works. In the Formula of Concord, for example, ancestral sin is an accident and not the very substance of human nature—a tenet which moved beyond Melancthon's position which held that the human will cooperates with the divine in man's conversion experience. In article two of the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession (the most radical of the *variata*), Adam's sin (*tou adam paraptoma*) is described as a mutilation (*lobe*), depravation or deficiency (*ten steressin e to hysterema*), ignorance of God (*agnoia tou Theou*), and an affliction (*to nosema*) of human nature (*Acta* 6). Perhaps, these descriptions are a 'platonizing' attempt to liberate their teaching of ancestral sin from its rigid Augustinian moorings.

If the Reformers' attempt to accommodate the patristic tradition appears ambiguous in light of their adherence to the total depravity of man, as stated in their first and second replies, this is not the case with Jeremias. He successfully states the patristic teaching concerning the active cooperation of man in the process of his salvation. Moreover, his choice of citing Chrysostom, Basil, and John Damascene is most fortuitous, since they clearly represent the synergistic position, and more importantly, maintain the integrity of human responsibility.

While accepting that the guilt of ancestral sin is transmitted to all men, and emphasizing death as a consequence of ancestral sin, Chrysostom does not ignore the fact that human responsibility was there all along. In his homilies, Romans 9, which speaks of God's sovereignty, cannot be isolated from Romans 10, which speaks of man's full responsibility. Both passages must be harmonized. Man's will is understood as *proairesis* which suggests a choice, a decision.

For Basil, too, man's choice follows upon grace, but it is not coerced. "The choice of necessary actions is in our power," as John Damascene writes, "while the outcome (*telos*) of good things lies in synergy with God."²⁶

The real confrontation in the correspondence, then, appeared to be between a theology of justification and a theology of salvation. The theology of justification irrefutably maintained the depravity of human nature and man's inability to do good. It separated, as seen in the Formula, justification from sanctification, considering works injurious when relied on to merit justification before God.²⁷ The theology of

²⁶ *Ekdosis akribes tes orthodoxou pisteos*, PG 94:968A.

²⁷ The ambiguity which the Reformers faced between the exclusivity and mutuality of faith and works is evident, as seen particularly in their alteration of *justificari* to *hagiazesthai* in the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession.

salvation, as represented by Jeremias, regarded reason and free will as the image of God in man, and clearly shifted responsibility from human weakness to a living faith witnessed by good works. Justification, then, is not separate from, but entails sanctification.

The priesthood and the invocation of the saints are, finally, two topics which illustrate the disparity between East and West. As both sides argued 'apologetically,' and consequently, talked at cross purposes, it became evident that neither side illuminated or clarified its respective position. Nor did either understand the piety 'mindset' of the other in order to fully appreciate the reasons why both were so different. Ironically, the more time that was spent defending and rejecting each other's position, the more theology became entangled in terminological ambiguities.

One must ask what was the 'real' understanding of the Reformers concerning the ordained ministry in light of the following chaotic terminology found in the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession: *ministros* = *diakonous*; *doctoribus theologiae* = *hierodidaskalon*; *superintendens* = *episkopou tou topou*; *ministri* = *hierodiakon*; *superintendens* = *hekastos ton episkopounton*; *pastoris* = *poimenes*; *minister* = *hyperetes*?²⁸ That the Reformers objected to the ordained priesthood, as understood by the Orthodox, was recognized by Jeremias. Their objection was based on their antipathy to Roman Catholic clericalism which, according to them, obscured the priesthood of all believers. The Reformers' attempt to soften a much too restrictive understanding of the priesthood as a preaching ministry with this terminological accommodation did not sway Jeremias. The priesthood, according to him, cannot be divorced from its sacramental and ecclesiological context: "All rites are activated (*energountai*) for us through the priesthood, and without the priest there is nothing holy" (*Acta* 241).

The same terminological confusion occurs concerning the invocation of the saints which obfuscates the Reformers' understanding of the Orthodox position. Drawing from the distinctions made at the Seventh Ecumenical Synod (781) between worship (*latreia*) and veneration (*proskynesis*), Jeremias works from the ecclesiological assumption that the Church is one in heaven and on earth, and therefore, invocation is not restricted only to God; others are venerated relatively. The Reformers vacillate on several points. They distinguish between *latreia* which belongs to God alone, but they use the terms "relation" (*schesis*) and "service" (*douleia*), not *proskynesis*, for the saints. Moreover, they consider the saints to be examples for Christians to emulate in virtue and piety, and for this reason, allow for their commemoration; but

²⁸ See listing in Jorgenson, p. 219.

the saints are not mediators. Their insensitivity to the philosophical distinctions already raised in Orthodoxy's historical struggle with iconoclasm can be seen in their admission: "It is not apparent to us how it is that when the saints are called upon, or when their icons are venerated (*proskynountai*), this must be called merely 'relation,' and not 'worship.' For things do not differ [simply] because different names are attached to them on a pretext" (*Acta* 333).

AN ASSESSMENT

The sixteenth century dialogue has been characterized as "exceptionally friendly yet frustratingly unfruitful in its immediate results."²⁹ Perhaps, those partners in dialogue expected too much, too soon. That an Orthodox solution was proposed must not be overlooked; namely, that the Reformers conform to the apostolic and synodal teaching of the Church. Proposing this solution was quite different from accepting it and "joining our chorus, becoming a fellow communicant, and one of the same faith" (*Acta* 142).

The Reformers' intent was just as sincere. It was to cement at least an ecclesiastical alliance, if not union with the distant 'Greek' Church which was regarded by them to be an authentic apostolic Church, one which had already combated many of the abuses which they were now attempting to address.

One wonders, however, if behind this initial effort to accommodate Lutheranism to Orthodox teaching—see the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession—lay a new and zealous reforming mission whose spirit of expansion aimed at protestantizing the Orthodox East. It is true that the immediate result of this early ecumenical venture was not what the partners had hoped for, namely, an alienation followed by Protestant proselytism and Orthodox reaction to it.³⁰

Should we view the results of the dialogue in terms of winners or losers? This question presupposes that dialogue is merely a game of wits in which players come skillfully prepared to outmaneuver their opponents. If this is so, then both Orthodox and Lutherans had the facility to argue apologetically. Jeremias' responses, taken in their totality, cannot be considered less rigorous in argumentation than those of his interlocutors.³¹ This question, though, is misdirected because it restricts an assessment only to impressions made during the time of the correspondence. The results, in fact, had rather far-reaching

²⁹ Ibid., p. 248.

³⁰ See the strongly anti-Protestant confessions of faith by Moghila of Kiev (1643) and Dositheos of Jerusalem (1672); Karmiris, *Dogmatika*, pp. 593-686, 746-73.

³¹ For a conflicting view, see Jorgenson, pp. 248-49.

historical consequences.

The Orthodox response opened a wider horizon for the Reformers, whose reach extended only to Rome prior to that time. It revealed what was unknown to them before: the Christian East. If there was, at first, mutual ignorance about each other's theology, culture, and politics, there was also the willingness to learn from each other. The correspondence was able to foster contacts which ranged beyond theological concerns (e.g., Crusius' activities). This in itself demonstrates that dialogue must be appreciated as a process, generating far-reaching results, in which there are no winners or losers, but all become beneficiaries.

To say that the correspondence was completely negative, "short-circuited,"³² or even that "the time for an unbiased consideration of confessional problems had not yet emerged"³³ is a harsh verdict which impatiently assumes that every moment of history must constitute either a monumental breakthrough or a bitter disappointment. No assessment can change what has already taken place. Rather, an understanding of the past can enable us to reflect upon the present and the possibilities of the future.

What is seen in the early ecumenical exchange between Constantinople and Tübingen is a genuine effort by both, despite their biases, to recognize a common ground. The attempt was made in the right direction even though it emphasized much more the diversities, rather than the shared life of both. But even this is a tribute which does not have a completely negative ring to it. For this reason, the correspondence is one important step in the dialogical process. By bringing to the fore the points of divergence between Orthodoxy and Protestantism, it enabled both to become familiar with the other's religious and attitudinal way of looking at each other.

This exchange, then, reveals two important differences which lie in theological orientation and in the way of doing theology. Theological orientation has much to do with impressions of and attitudes toward each other. To characterize the Orthodox East and Protestant West as strangers from two different worlds, one having tradition, the other one not, is too simplistic.³⁴ Both met each other in dialogue already being inheritors of their own complex traditional heritage. What was at stake was an identification with the continuity of the apostolic Church. The norm had to be authority: the 'unconditional' axiom which

³² Constantinides, "Orthodox problems," p. 50.

³³ C. R. A. Georgi, "Das erste Gespräch zwischen Protestantismus und Ostkirche," *Eine Heilige Kirche* 21 (1939): 207, quoted in Jorgenson, p. 94.

³⁴ See Karmiris, *Orthodoxia*, p. 77.

legitimized the Church's experience. In the sixteenth century dialogue, this norm was dealt with in terms of scripture versus tradition, the lived experience of the Church through the ages. Different ways of viewing this authority naturally led to a polarization of the status of the synods, the fathers, and unwritten tradition.

Theological orientation dictated methodology. For the Tübingen theologians, scripture versus tradition was a real distinction, and the criterion for making this distinction was the ultimate authority of scripture. Doing theology entailed reacting to the doctrinal content of tradition. This reaction issued a challenge to their interlocutors to prove the Reformers wrong. Built into their methodology is a polemic which seeks to argue defensively and apologetically; namely, that they are not innovators seeking to establish a new Church, but rather, 'evangelical catholics' attempting to restore the Church to its apostolic purity.³⁵

Jeremias' orientation toward scripture and tradition was one of finding an internal harmony and consistency between the two as lived and witnessed in the corporate experience of the Church through the ages. His way of doing theology was one with that of the fathers who referred theology back to the vision of faith, of image, not separating it from the corporate experience of the Church through the ages. The patriarch's method aimed at a synthesis and integration, not just a toleration of particular views. Built into his methodology is an attitude which seeks to embrace a common basis, norm, and method: "God, who calls both you and us and desires that all be saved, is faithful" (*Acta* 141).

Although theological orientation and methodology were both different between Constantinople and Tübingen, there is a lesson to be learned from this exchange. An orientation which is not reductionistic, but seeks integration, internal harmony, as well as consistency, and a methodology which is not polemical, but becomes a discriminate witness to the Church's lived experience can renew our understanding that one and the same Spirit guides scripture and tradition.

There are many issues which are being explored today by Orthodox and Lutheran dialogians. A study of the sixteenth century correspondence has reminded us that in present ecumenical dialogue a serious and sincere dialogue with the past is always mandated. This does not mean a duplication, but more importantly, a continuous reworking of the unfinished agenda in an entirely new light.³⁶ An

³⁵ Jorgenson, p. 106.

³⁶ See J. D. Zizioulas, "Orthodox-Protestant bilateral conversations: some comments," *The Orthodox Church and the Churches of the Reformation: A survey of Orthodox-Protestant dialogues*, Faith and Order paper 76 (1975): 55-60.

understanding of past theological orientations and methodologies, their limitations and possibilities, encourages us today to eliminate those misconceptions which have strained relations between Orthodox and Reformers in their historical beginnings. With this knowledge of the past, new avenues can be explored in which these seemingly incompatible ways of doing theology are not so exclusive, but rather are complementary in approaching the dynamic, activating, and tested character of true faith. These historical beginnings, finally, can alert us to move away from the polarization of issues to a convergence which reflects a living faith in the Triune God, as the all-pervasive reality, and as the foundation and future of the Church in the world. In this sense, our history of contacts are the prolegomena for the beginning of dialogue.

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this controversy was not simply between *two theological currents within the Orthodox world* (complicated perhaps in the individual case of Varlaam by the presence of Augustinianism and other Latin influences) rather than between a Neo-Platonic essentialist and intellectual mysticism with agnostic humanist tendencies on the one hand and, on the other, a biblico-Stoic existentialist and cardiac mysticism, with stronger "incarnational" and sacramentalist tonalities.

Fr. Meyendorff is to be congratulated on not overemphasizing here his hypothesis of such a polarization and cleavage, which he originally propounded with such conviction.¹⁸ In his notes he shows awareness that "the debate continues" on these themes, by mentioning Podskalsky, de Halleux and others. Meanwhile, he has concentrated on presenting Palamas as the doctor who teaches "Knowledge beyond Knowledge," "Transfiguration of the Body," "Deification and the Uncreated Glory of Christ." My only reproach is that in his brief résumé of the biographical facts ("The Life of Palamas," p. 5-8) he makes no mention at all of Gregory of Sinai; for I cannot help thinking that in the last years of his early sojourn on Mount Athos (1323-25) Palamas must have been under his direct influence.¹⁹

¹⁸ One of the best analyses of the factors at work remains that published by P. Chrestou already in 1956 in *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμάς*, 39 (1956) 128-38; i.e., predating Meyendorff's main works by three years.

¹⁹ An article in which I plead in favor of this view is due to appear this autumn in *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* edited by Fr. John who is also Dean of St. Vladimir's Seminary.

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Partakers of God. By Panagiotes K. Chrestou. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. Pp. 66. Paperbound.

I have before me Professor Chrestou's excellent book, *Partakers of God*, comprised of words delivered as part of the Patriarch Athenagoras Memorial Lectures at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology. Dr. Chrestou, who began his teaching career at Holy Cross, was for many years a member of the faculty of Theology at the Aristotelian University of Thessalonike. It was in Thessalonike, too, that he founded the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies at the famous Vlatadon Monastery. His many editorial projects in patristic writings and hagiographic collections (including the collected works of Saint Gregory Palamas), together with an impressive array of scholarly articles, either written or translated into the English language, have made this Greek theologian quite popular with an American audience. It is only

appropriate, then, that the lectures from which this book is drawn should have been presented to an American audience, in the English language, at an institution where Chrestou first began his association with Orthodox theologians in the United States.

Partakers of God is the source for a Greek volume, *Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, recently published by the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies. I mention this, since the Greek version of the book fits into a theological series ("Theological Essays"), which gives us some idea of the development of Chrestou's views. Specifically, the *Mystery of Man* follows a companion volume in Greek, *Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ*. One might wonder, then, why Professor Chrestou treated his American audience to a series of lectures taken out of the context that he establishes in his Greek theological series, and why he did not choose to focus his attention on the "mystery of God." There are two reasons, and I think that both should be considered at some length.

Firstly, while Orthodox theology in the English language has certainly reached the level of maturity, both by virtue of available theologies in translation and the existence of competent Orthodox theologians in the West, to offer careful explications of the mysteries of God and man from a wholly patristic witness, the western view of man, so fundamentally at odds with that found in traditional Orthodox thought, dominates. One might say, indeed, that in the West we study God as a consequence of our understanding and view of man—something to which the "secular" theologies of the 1960s and the "humanization" movements in our contemporary divinity schools attest. Even when we put forth essentially patristic studies of God and man, we do so in a context where a certain view of man dominates and from which view our understanding of God is derived. It is refreshing and necessary, therefore, for us to hear of man from the standpoint of those who theologize about God first. In such reading, we gain a balance in our thinking which is otherwise unavailable. Studying man first, we begin to understand from this author why it is God whom one first studies in the pursuit of man. We must to some extent rearrange our thinking, as a famous rabbinical thinker once put it, to understand salvation as God's search for man, not man's search for God. Dr. Chrestou's book, *Partakers of God*, talks of man in such a way that we come close to this understanding.

Secondly, having reviewed Chrestou's *Mystery of God* with some care, I am convinced that *Partakers of God* clearly stands alone as a piece of theological writings, and that the reader is at no disadvantage in missing the former volume. In addition to being written in a Greek which is not easy for the casual reader, the American reader certainly needs, more than this complete exegesis on God, a perspective from a thinker untainted by our Western anthropocentrism in theologizing—

which perspective should, quite logically, begin with a reassessment of man, not God. *Partakers of God*, then, stands as successfully alone in print as it apparently did as lecture material of some popularity.

As regards Dr. Chrestou's view of man, I will leave it to the reader to delve into the richness of his thinking, the theological stability he evidences in his clear understanding and effusive citations of patristic literature, and the striking succinctness with which he explicated the mystery of man in categories which are so clear and "not mysterious," as it were. I would only ask that the reader keep in mind, in his study, a few important cognitive dimensions in which the author treats of man, since these are so divergent from those of which we think as Westerners. Whereas we approach man from the standpoint of the war between the flesh and the soul, attaching an understanding of God to the principle of the soul, Professor Chrestou so clearly operates from the traditional understanding of the symphony and harmony of the flesh and the soul by which the Orthodox Fathers understand man's encounter with God. Our encounter with the "Anschluss" of God, as one existentialist calls it, does not proceed from our souls, but from that natural condition in which, reconciled to the Icon of God that is the true human, our flesh and our spirits exist in harmony and work in symphony.

It is important, too, for the reader to grasp that this author approaches the mystery of man, almost at the outset, in a context free from the tensions caused by the dichotomy between the flesh and the soul that characterizes both Western theology and Western psychology. This lack of tension changes one's very view of the interaction between God and man, in that the sometimes passionate and otherwise tragic struggle between the "evil" of the flesh and the "good" of the soul is missing. Missing along with this struggle, then, is the psycho-religious world of the Westerner. The "evil" of the body psychopathologically transformed into a psychic hatred of the physical, sexual, and mental sides of man—this is something unknown to an Orthodox patristic anthropology. Quoting Saint Gregory Palamas, Professor Chrestou almost matter-of-factly, in the beginning of his treatise (p. 15), addresses the nature of man as one of harmony with God—a harmony wrought by the Incarnation of Christ, God having become man "to honor the flesh, even this mortal flesh."

Finally, the most crucial theme in *Partakers of God* revolves around the consequences of a proper understanding of the mystery that is man. If one comes into harmony with God, establishes a symphonic relationship with him, becomes a co-worker of God, Dr. Chrestou argues—and this with the force of the *purest* patristic thought—the fruits and delights of man's future state are realized in his present state. By divine energy, man rises to a nontemporal realm, participating in the divine in the

present life (“Ἡ μέθεξις τοῦ Θεοῦ,” to quote the Greek version of *Partakers of God*). Indeed, just as there exists, for the Orthodox Fathers, no essential tension between the flesh and the spirit, when these are joined in symphonic harmony to the image of God in man, there is, at the same time, no metaphysical or existential tension between time and the eternal. Man, restored even in his fallen state to a harmonious relationship with God, comes into a harmonic relationship with eternity, experiencing in time that which is timeless, participating, indeed, in that which is divine. This singularly important thought in Chrestou’s work is a dimension of understanding that gives his words a special force and significance for the American reader.

This little book is handsomely bound with a very attractive abstract design on the cover. My only criticism is a small one. The increasing tendency to delete the term “Saint” before the names of those glorified by the Church is an unhealthy one—borrowed from the scholarly conventions of the West. Interestingly enough, Dr. Chrestou does not employ this convention in his Greek text, where his initial references to a saint always contain an appellation of honor or respect. We Orthodox have a special veneration for saints. To those advanced in spiritual life, these saints become “friends”—even friends whom we can address informally; to those of us yet struggling in the spiritual life, these saints are the image of that to which we aspire and icons of our future state—and we owe them veneration and awe. We might all keep this note in mind.

This book is a “must.”

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Sunset Years: A Russian Pilgrim in the West. By Nicholas Zernov. London: The Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1983. Pp. 192. Exclusive American distribution: Light and Life Publishing Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

This book is a memoir; not an autobiography, but one of the sources of an eventual definitive biography. Its subject is a scholar of the first generation Russian émigrés following the Bolshevik takeover of the democratic revolution which overthrew the decadent Romanov dynasty. The author taught at Oxford from 1947 to 1966 when he retired from the post of Spalding Lecturer in Eastern Orthodox Culture.

The volume covers the period of the Russian Emigration, and the mission which Zernov saw for it as a form of spreading the Orthodox faith and as an important factor in the ecumenical movement. Included

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Patriarch Athenagoras' Ethical and Pastoral Concerns*

DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS

SOME OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL persons in the history of mankind never wrote anything; some others wrote very little. Socrates of Athens and Jesus of Nazareth, whose teachings stand in the background of the Greek and Christian Orthodox social ethos, wrote nothing, but their teachings have exerted an influence which survives to the present day. Some of the most influential individuals in mankind's history spoke truths of eternal worth in a simple, direct, and wise language. "Question your assumptions"; "search that you may know yourself"; "virtue is superior to wealth and power"; "it is evil to retaliate evil for evil," Socrates taught. "Love your neighbor as yourself"; "blessed are those who seek justice"; "blessed are the peacemakers"; "fortunate are the pure in heart," said Jesus.

Patriarch Athenagoras was neither Socrates nor Jesus. He belongs, however, to the same category of people who wrote nothing or very little; who spoke in a simple, direct, and convincing language; who traveled extensively; met many people; took initiatives; and became one of the most influential men in modern Christendom, the Orthodox world in particular. He wrote neither scholarly books nor theological essays—only particular encyclicals. The present essay is based on Athenagoras' published encyclicals—and they are not very many—which reflect his moral philosophy and the nature of his episcopal ministry in America.¹

Athenagoras' encyclicals reveal a man who appreciated a pedagogue's approach to his vocation. In his ministry he was unsophisticated and much more concerned with ethical principles and

*The Patriarch Athenagoras Memorial Lecture, 1984.

¹Most of Athenagoras' encyclicals have been included in Demetrios J. Constantelos, ed., *Encyclicals and Documents of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America: The First Fifty Years—1922-1972* (Thessalonike, 1976), pp. 109-478.

pastoral issues than doctrinal definitions. He was interested in the cultivation, growth, and ultimate salvation of the people under his pastoral responsibility. Like Socrates and Jesus, Athenagoras stressed the value of the human being and addressed the question of what is man's ultimate mission in life.

Patriarch Athenagoras was a twentieth-century man but his social and religious thought was deeply rooted in the sources of his Greek heritage and the Christian Orthodox faith.² He was a kind, affable, accessible, simple, ascetic, and prophetic man but, above all, he was "a lover of the human being," a φιλόανθρωπος. He loved the poor as much as he loved the rich, the young and the old alike, the prominent as well as the obscure, male and female, saints and sinners. For Athenagoras ἀγάπη in διακονία (love in service) is the heart of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

In his enthronement homily as Archbishop of North and South America, Athenagoras said:

To strengthen my faith and my will I turn to the only source, Jesus Christ and his cross. I do not know if I will be able to meet your expectations and fulfill my duties and obligations but I can assure you of one thing: that I will love you, that I love you now and I loved you even before I came to you. For this love, I am willing to carry the cross.³

Athenagoras kept his promise, and for eighteen years as Archbishop of America he carried his own cross, but also the cross of his people. His message was a simple and direct one: love and serve. In his December 17, 1931 encyclical, Athenagoras expressed his theology of love and his concern for diakonia in the following words:

As sons and daughters of the same heavenly Father, we have the obligation to be always in union with him through the application of his divine commandments and, above all, the commandment of love toward our fellowman. As our Lord said: love toward God is revealed and determined through out love for man. It is therefore a required duty that we express our love toward every person . . . especially those who suffer because of unemployment, those in

²For a study of the social ethos of the Greek Orthodox Church, there are several books and studies. For the Byzantine heritage, see my books *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N. J. 1968) and *Byzantine Society and Church Philanthropy: From the Fourth Crusade through the Fall* (New York, 1985). For current thought and activity, see Stanley S. Harakas, *Let Mercy Abound* (Brookline, 1983).

³George Papaioannou, *From Mars Hill to Manhattan* (Minneapolis, 1976), pp. 59-60.

distress because of deprivations and want, those in dire poverty. Whatever assistance we may be able to give to those in need is a Christian obligation, and the best way to please the Lord. Give from your surpluses but give even from the little that you possess. Give willingly and give generously to our indigent brethren. . . .⁴

Simple, direct, and nothing rhetorical; evangelical and nothing theologically sophisticated. Love and practice love was Athenagoras' first Christian message in America.

But did his encyclicals and his exhortations reflect any realities in the American scene? What were the social and economic conditions, and the moral climate under which he assumed his pastoral duties in the Americas?

When Athenagoras arrived in the United States in 1931 to take over the spiritual leadership of the Greek Orthodox, the country had entered into its most critical period of its history since the civil war. The great depression was a grim period for the American people, including the Greek Orthodox. Even though many Greeks had already advanced into an economically comfortable middle-class society, there was a large working class which included many unskilled laborers who, along with hundreds of thousands, found themselves in bread lines and soup kitchens.

By the fall of 1931 big companies, building, steel and automobile industries were laying off large numbers of workers. The great depression gradually overwhelmed numerous smaller businesses such as restaurants, shoe shine parlors, flower shops, confectionaries and grocery stores. By 1932 nearly one quarter of the country's working population faced virtual starvation. Many families were evicted from their homes because of their inability to meet mortgage payments and not a few who had invested their savings either in real estate or on Wall Street became destitute.⁵

America's greatest depression lasted about a dozen years, from mid-1929 to mid-1941, and by mid-1930 it was virtually worldwide in scope. Unemployment became increasingly widespread. And the United States was totally unprepared to cope with the massive unemployment and poverty that came with the great depression. There was no federal program to assist the unemployed and there were no unemployment insurance systems or any special organizations to provide relief to the unemployed. Thus for several years almost sole responsibility for caring

⁴Constantelos, *Encyclicals*, pp. 246-47.

⁵Lester V. Chandler, *America's Greatest Depression 1929-1941* (New York, 1970), esp. pp. 73-77.

for the poor and the destitute was left to lay in the local community, the individual's church, religious institutions, or family and relatives.

Soon after 1931 a number of various types of private charity, whether organized or unorganized emerged. Local government for example—town, city, or county—introduced measures of relief known as “indoor relief” and “outdoor relief,” that is, care for the destitute in government almshouses and some care in the houses of the poor. Specialized types of state aid were provided for certain categories of people, such as the insane, the tubercular, and the so-called “unsettled poor.” In general, however, neither state nor federal government had foreseen such a depression in order to organize themselves accordingly. In 1931 unemployment had reached as high as 34.7 percent for the ages between sixteen and twenty-five, and 24 percent for the ages between twenty-six and thirty-five. The federal government provided no funds for direct relief of the unemployed before July 1932 and then only as loans to states.⁶

Unemployment was severe for all classes of people and persons of many professions including architects, engineers, teachers, salesmen, writers, but it was more agonizing for those with less education and skills, for immigrants with little or no knowledge of English, for black and other non-white minorities. Several industrial cities such as Chicago, with a large immigrant population, had 40 percent of its labor force unemployed. Detroit was virtually impoverished and New York could hardly cope with its economic and social problems. The Emergency Conference on Unemployment of New York reported in 1932 that starving families were breaking up and homes were destroyed. More than 20,000 children were placed into institutions and boarding houses because parents could not provide for them. Early in 1931 a reporter described the scene at the New York City Free Employment Bureau as follows:

I sweep the floor before me. A thousand men are in the loft. The front line is ten feet away. A stout rope is stretched from pillar to pillar. Behind the rope the men are herded. Men? Many are boys, still in their teens; a few, very few, rosy-cheeked youngsters; the rest old beyond their time. Shoulders broken by responsibility. Faces that look into a black abyss.⁷

There were numerous out of work transients who despaired of finding employment in their own communities and wandered penniless and homeless around the country, walking or hitchhiking. We assume that

⁶Ibid., p. 32.

⁷Milton Meltzer, *Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?* (New York, 1969), p. 29.

some of those unemployed transients were Greek immigrants, especially single men. But even those who stayed behind did not have a better fate. Living conditions for single men were dreadful. It was not unusual for a half-a-dozen or more bachelors to rent an inexpensive apartment and live under unhealthy conditions. Many became sick from tuberculosis and found themselves in state or county sanatoria. The severe hardships of the early 1930s forced a great number of Greek immigrants to repatriate. More Greeks returned back to the old country than those who came over to America during most of the 1930s. It is interesting to note that between 1918 and 1930 more than 91,350 Greek Orthodox immigrants entered the United States, but only 9,119 persons arrived between 1931 and 1940.⁸ I have no statistics indicating how many Greek immigrants returned to Greece during the depression years.

It is against this background of moral, economic, and social conditions that we should examine the earliest encyclicals and pastoral ministry of Athenagoras as Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox in the new world. To be sure, local churches and fraternal organizations, patriotic and private charity in general made large and commendable contributions for the survival and rehabilitation of the poor and needy among the Greek Orthodox. But it was Archbishop Athenagoras who coordinated and helped to systematize the social welfare activities of the Greek Orthodox communities. He provided the ethical justification and set the pace for a rigorous activity. His encyclicals of the 1930s reflect his moral principles and the nature of his involvement. In his philanthropic program, he included the unemployed, the sick, the orphans, institutions such as orphanages and sanatoria, victims of earthquakes, refugees from Turkey and others in need of assistance.

From as early as 1902, Greek Orthodox communities in America maintained charitable organizations for local needs. But there was no central coordinating office. Soon after his arrival, Archbishop Athenagoras organized the National Philoptochos society which took under its aegis all local chapters, guiding and coordinating their philanthropic activities.⁹ The purpose of each Philoptochos chapter was to provide moral and material assistance to those in hospitals and prisons, to widows, orphans, the elderly and others in need, including many sailors who had entered the country illegally.

In an encyclical dated December 14, 1935 addressed to all the chapters of the Philoptochos Society around the country, Athenagoras

⁸Charles C. Moskos, Jr., *Greek Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1980), pp. 11-12; cf. S. Zotos, *Hellenic Presence in America* (Wheaton, Ill., 1976), pp. 187-94.

⁹Constantelos, *Encyclicals*, pp. 110-15; cf. Papaioannou, p. 122.

emphasized that city and state relief efforts were insufficient to satisfy even the basic needs of those in need. He wrote:

In your community you will find many suffering fellow Greek Orthodox. Some are known, others are not, men but primarily women and children. We know and indeed we appreciate your interest and your labors on their behalf. Nevertheless, we appeal to you to intensify your efforts even harder. Search and discover all the poor and needy people in your community. Visit those who have and ask them for a contribution. Request money and ask for kind. There are many people who go hungry and walk in the cold because they lack clothing. Appeal to everyone. Help as many needy as possible, but be cautious, discreet and polite not to offend anyone and do not reveal the names of those who receive charities.¹⁰

Indeed an apostolic and patristic language reminiscent of a John Chrysostom and John the Merciful. Nearly every encyclical to Philoptochos societies manifests the Archbishop's sensibility to poverty, pain, hopelessness, his fatherly compassion and human empathy.

With certainty of purpose, with conviction in the values of the Greek legacy and the Christian Orthodox faith, Athenagoras moves with confidence step by step to protect, cultivate and raise the spiritual standards of the people entrusted to him. Again and again he makes earnest admonitions and hammers at ideals that are practical and enduring.

As a master psychologist, Athenagoras attracted people with the magnetism and advantages of his word, example, and personality. He did not travel through the land condemning the people for their ignorance; he did not disdain their peasant background, their limited and parochial vision and he did not condemn them for their weaknesses and sins. He assumed a positive and constructive approach. His purpose was to introduce them to the basic truths of love, justice, hope, and concord. He asked them to lift up their eyes to new visions and inspired them with new dreams. Himself a man with a magnanimous heart, he enlarged their hearts with love, peace, understanding, and cooperation. He never failed to remind them that they came to the new world not only for better material conditions but with a purpose and a spiritual mission.¹¹

Athenagoras' encyclicals and memoranda abound in exhortations of the blessings and advantages of an industrious, honest, moral and pure life. In a step-by-step approach, he frequently urged them to better

¹⁰Constantelos, *Encyclicals*, pp. 252-53.

¹¹Cf. P. Palaiologos, *Oi 'Ελληνες έξω από την 'Ελλάδα* (Athens, n.d.), pp. 18-32.

and greater things in full agreement with the principles of their noble heritage and Christian Orthodox beliefs. He had a deep appreciation of the Greek heritage, its unique language and family values in particular, and of Christian Orthodoxy.

Athenagoras' approach to ethical issues and social welfare involvement was traditional in the sense that he derived his inspiration from the scripture and the experience of the Church in history. Whether as bishop of Kerkyra (Corfu), Archbishop of America, or as Ecumenical Patriarch, Athenagoras pursued a personal pastoral ministry. He urged his priests and other religious workers to get out from their office and, through personal visitation and contact, reach everyone. He brought to America his rich pastoral experience of the 1920s when, as bishop of Kerkyra, he faced similar social, economic, and moral problems.

When he assumed his episcopal duties in Kerkyra, the island had received thousands of destitute refugees from Asia Minor—women, widows, orphans, elderly, sick, and depressed victims of man's inhumanity to man. Many refugees had been placed in military barracks left behind by the British who had ruled the Ionian Islands in most of the nineteenth century. Others were temporarily housed in schools and even churches. The situation there, as in all of Greece after the catastrophe of 1922 was chaotic and Athenagoras faced the refugee problem with courage, empathy, and determination. He became instrumental in the erection of houses, an orphanage, a "children's station" and in the organization of an "association of philanthropists" which provided food and shelter to the unemployed. In his all-encompassing efforts, Athenagoras included the rehabilitation of women who, because of poverty, had turned to prostitution. Not only did he approach and speak to them like a pastor seeking their repentance, their *μετάνοια*, but he also made it certain that employment was secured for them. He provided even dowries for those ready for marriage.¹² Indeed, a very courageous ministry reminiscent of the rehabilitative ministry of Byzantine saints such as Nikodemos, a little known but resolute monk of the fourteenth century.

The story of Nikodemos is very interesting. He was born into a prosperous family of Berroia during the reign of Andronikos II (1282-1328) and died before 1354. After several years of wandering, he moved to Thessalonike where he joined the monastic community of Philokalous, which was governed by Abbot Philotheos, the future Patriarch of Constantinople. As a monk, Nikodemos was concerned with the fate of fallen women and made their rehabilitation his pastoral mission. He defied gossip and even risked his life to converse with them and convert

¹²Papaioannou, pp. 50-51.

them to a moral life. He distributed bread and other goods to them as well as money with the understanding that they would not return to prostitution.

Nikodemos was so successful in his ministry among prostitutes that one day some procurers, angry at losing money, and seeing Nikodemos talking with their women, drew their swords and attacked him. Nikodemos was able to drag himself as far as the gate of the monastery but the abbot refused to receive him. The monk died outside the monastery and was buried not far from it. Later, the purity of his motives and the value of his ministry were recognized and his relics were transferred and buried with church and state honors in his hometown. The man who wrote his encomium was the former abbot of the monastery who had refused to accept Nikodemos after he was attacked by procurers. He wrote the encomium, however, several years after Nikodemos' reputation for sainthood was established.¹³

Through personal appeals and contacts, Athenagoras was able to establish in Kerkyra a sanatorium for victims of tuberculosis, the most dreadful disease at the time. Convinced that charity is the essence of the Christian message, he left out no one from his daily concerns. As one of his contemporaries in Kerkyra wrote: Athenagoras pursued the application of philanthropy with "passion."¹⁴ He brought to America the same passion for the welfare of human beings in distress and need.

In an encyclical dated October 20, 1932, addressed to Philoptochos society chapters all over the country, Athenagoras said:

The Bible speaks constantly about works of mercy. And Christ summarized his own teaching and life, the teaching of God's commandment in a few words: love God and man. Does not the parable of the Good Samaritan inspire us? Does not the parable about the Last Judgement teach us that our fate after death is determined by our behaviour toward our brethren, the least among us? Saint Paul repeatedly writes about love. He writes somewhere: 'Let brotherly love continue increasingly. Do not neglect to offer hospitality to strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares' (Heb 13.1-2). A simple word of consolation, a visit to the sick, those in prison or the lonely may be more effective and useful than material assistance. There is so much misery in this life.

¹³Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Society and Church Philanthropy* (New York, 1985).

¹⁴Ioannes Skiadopoulos, "'Από τὰ πεπραγμένα μίας δεκαετίας," *Ἀπολύτρωσις*, 7 (June-October, 1973) p. 25; Papaioannou, p. 50.

And how much happier we would have been if we could offer relief to everyone in need . . . Look after the needs of small children, find shelter for the homeless, gather the orphans, help the students . . . Your philanthropic work should be systematic and well organized, should include contributions in money and in kind . . .¹⁵

Athenagoras did not sermonize in a vacuum or for personal satisfaction. He knew social conditions and the realities in New York, Lowell, Peabody, Detroit, Chicago, and many larger or smaller cities. He concludes:

The crisis is terrible, the winter is approaching threatening. There are unemployed, hungry, naked, sick people in prison, destitute, widows, orphans, boys and girls without any protection and exposed to terrible dangers; people in pain, in despair, others forced to commit crimes or suicide.¹⁶

His description of the social realities have been verified by scholarly research on the depression period.

Young people were the most brutalized victims of the depression. Undernourishment was common. Infants faced the specter of famine because milk was unavailable while school age youngsters attended classes with empty stomachs which caused fainting and illness. Teachers were fired and schools were forced to close. New York City alone laid off 11,000 teachers from 1932 to 1933. By the end of 1933, 2,600 schools nationwide had closed their doors. Those that remained opened were forced to crowd sixty students to a classroom designed for thirty. According to reliable estimates the education of at least ten million pupils was disabled. "As early as 1930, the census revealed that over three million children seven to seventeen years old were not in school."¹⁷

Many orphans, boys and girls, who failed to find employment near home took to the road. The Children's Bureau estimated that by late 1932, a quarter of a million under the age of twenty-one were wandering in the country.¹⁸ There must have been many orphans among the Greek Orthodox, a fact that had not escaped the attention of Athenagoras. Several of his encyclicals were appeals for the protection of orphans and the establishment of orphanages. In his April 6, 1932 encyclical, he writes of many orphans of Greek parentage (καὶ ἔχει ἡ

¹⁵Constantelos, *Encyclicals*, pp. 111-12.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁷Meltzer, *Brother*, pp. 42-46; cf. Edward R. Ellis, *A Nation in Torment: The Great American Depression* (New York, 1970), pp. 229-54.

¹⁸Meltzer, *Brother*, p. 49; Caroline Bird, *The Invisible Scar* (New York, 1966), pp. 291-95.

ὁμογένεια τόσα ὀρφανά!) roaming here and there. Many more had been placed in non-Orthodox or secular orphanages facing proselytism and loss of identity. His efforts to establish an orphanage were both persistent and intensive. In 1932 he wrote to priests and church councils announcing the establishment of an orphanage at Pomfret, Connecticut. At the same time, Athenagoras asked for moral and financial support from every Greek Orthodox community. Several communities could not provide any help because they were very small and poor to the extent that they faced foreclosures of their churches. Larger communities were preoccupied with their own domestic problems. In the course of four years only some New England communities responded rather grudgingly. In order to save the orphanage, the Archbishop tried to organize a national brotherhood of the orphanage with an annual membership dues of fifty cents and twenty-five cents for the youth.

The Pomfret, Connecticut experiment did not succeed and ultimately the estate was used as the archdiocese's Holy Cross Theological Institute which opened its doors in 1937. But Athenagoras did not despair easily. In 1944 he was able to establish the church's first orphanage in Garrison, New York. In the 1930s, efforts were made for two orphanages, one in Florida established by American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association and one in Chicago founded by Greek American Progressive Association. Both had received the moral support of Archbishop Athenagoras who had issued several encyclicals for their financial support.¹⁹ But both did not succeed.

As if the depressions' economic disasters were not enough, several natural catastrophes, such as droughts and floods, multiplied the social and moral problems of the decade. In the summer of 1930, a devastating drought dried up a belt of land all the way from Virginia to Arkansas and Mississippi. Its effects were felt for several years, not only by farmers but also by urban populations. On November 11, 1933, a gigantic dust storm overtook several states from Texas up to the Canadian border. It became known as the "black blizzard." It darkened the sky over Chicago and other cities as far east as Albany, N. Y. It caused stomach ailments and constipation, nausea and fainting. The droughts of the 1930s have been described as the worst in the nation's history affecting three-fourths of the country's land contributing to unemployment, foreclosures, decline of farming and production.²⁰ During the depression years, nearly half of the nation's farmers were tenants. Thousands of small owners, unable to pay their monthly payments,

¹⁹Constantelos, *Encyclicals*, pp. 248-54; 272-77; 314-15.

²⁰Dixon Wecter, *The Age of the Great Depression* (New York, 1948; Chicago, 1971), pp. 173-77.

were forced into tenancy. Even though most of the Greek Americans lived in urban centers, there were many who engaged in agriculture, especially in California and the mid-west.

In January 1937 a great flood in the mid-west left many people homeless and out of business. The Greek Orthodox community of Cincinnati suffered great losses. Athenagoras was moved to action. In addition to special appeals, he established a relief committee there to handle the charities coming in from sister communities.²¹

Disease and especially tuberculosis attacked the undernourished and those exposed to the elements. There are indications that many Greek immigrants were in need of hospitalization. The American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association had taken the initiative to establish a sanatorium in New Mexico. Athenagoras became one of its strongest supporters. He issued special encyclicals and urged every community to contribute to its success.²² But this effort, too, failed.

As I have indicated elsewhere, Athenagoras had little sympathy for abstract theology and theoretical arguments. He preferred deeds to words and admonished his clergy to be actively involved in the pressing needs of the faithful. Criticism against several clergymen for not doing enough to help the poor and the unemployed had reached the Archbishop. Some men of the cloth had engaged in profitable enterprises "neglecting their high calling to become real estate and stock market manipulators", creating a scandal against all the clergy. The Archbishop addressed several personal letters urging his priests to get out and seek the poor and the orphans; to visit the sick and those in prison, to console the bereaved and inspire people with hope. He urged them to prove themselves worthy of their vocation and imitate their Master who was willing to make the ultimate sacrifice.²³

In his pastoral ministry, Athenagoras tried to convey certainties than to engage in ambiguous rhetorics. As a realist, he never lost sight of the strengths and weaknesses of the human being. He believed in the human potential and used all his persuasive art to move people to action. In his appeals for philanthropy and philanthropic activity, he avoided theological excursions and limited his remarks to precise and clear biblical exhortations. No poetic expressions, no patristic documentation, no philosophical pretensions or sophisticated arguments. In his style, he was rather prosaic. Did he lack a talent for poetry and imagination? I don't think so. He was not interested in impressing but in edifying people.

In encyclicals issued especially for the clergy, Athenagoras reveals

²¹Constantelos, *Encyclicals*, pp. 257-58.

²²Ibid., pp. 258-59.

²³Ibid., pp. 174-75.

himself as an understanding, compassionate and supportive fellow priest. He was as direct and simple with his clergy as he was with the laity. He praised initiatives and made himself available. He was interested in their morale and spiritual health as well as with their physical and economic well-being.

For Athenagoras, the most effective means of pastoral ministry was the personal approach. He urged his clergy to visit their people in their homes, hospitals, prisons, places of employment. If the people cannot come to church, take the church to the people. He advised that the clergyman's duties are not limited to the performance of liturgies and sacraments. A priest must be like a selfless, hardworking, and loving father ready to even sacrifice himself for his family. Above all, a priest must be the personification of a genuine, mature, and overflowing love for the people entrusted in him.

Do you say, "I work sixteen hours a day"? I tell you to stay up even longer . . . Do you love your people? Love them even more. They deserve our total love. Love knows no limits . . . Do you say, "life is difficult"? I agree, but do not be afraid of life. Even more—do not be afraid of death. As Christ has said, "Whoever would save his life will lose it, and whoever loses his life for my sake will find it"²⁴ (Mt 16.26).

Here, as on many other occasions, Athenagoras cited the Bible by memory without bothering to provide complete reference. Frequently he paraphrased.

Encyclicals issued on special occasions, such as Christmas, Easter, Annunciation, and a community's annual holiday, are especially morally instructive. In congratulatory messages to communities, he summarized what is important in a community's life—concord, unity, love, mutual interest, support for the communities' programs, schools, philanthropies.

In a moving and deeply paternal encyclical to the clergy issued on the occasion of Christmas in 1934, Athenagoras wrote:

You are mine. The older among you as my fathers. Those of the same age or younger as my brothers. We are of the same mind. We have the same feelings; we are engaged in the same struggles. We possess a common hope; we have the same fears. Yes, together we have our dear Christians whose souls and future in their country are entrusted in the hands of all of us two hundred and fifty clergymen . . . We are co-workers, fellow soldiers of the Church.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 123-24.

Let us prove ourselves gigantic. Let us rise above ourselves and higher than the world around us . . . let us continue our common endeavor. Let us seek closer ties with our parishioners . . . practice philanthropy and look after the needs of the youth . . . ²⁵

Most of the 1930s, Greek Orthodox Christians were immigrants, and Athenagoras knew their problems. Thus, a number of his encyclicals reflect his concern about his flock's adjustment and well-being. On several occasions, Athenagoras urged the faithful:

Love your community . . . stay close to the Church united to Christ. Every branch that does not stay in the community withers away and is lost [cf. Jn 15.4]. . . . Stay united, avoiding any move that tends to divide and create hostilities . . . Respect the laws of beloved America. Exert every effort to be always good, law-abiding citizens and honorable family men, in every respect . . . Do not be afraid of the economic crisis [depression]. It will pass away, new and brighter days will again dawn. Listen to what Christ says: 'I have set before you an open door, which no one is able to shut; I know that you have but little power, and yet you have kept my word and have not denied my name. I have loved you, because you have kept my word of patient endurance. Hold fast what you have, so that no one may seize your crown.'

Athenagoras paraphrases here the book of Apocalypse (ch. 3.8-11).

The Bible, the New Testament in particular, was the source from which he drew support for his arguments and his position. Frequently, however, he used illustrations from the experience of the Church in history and lessons from the history of the Greek nation. In delicate cases and patriotic occasions, he appealed to Greek pride and to his people's powerful historical consciousness.²⁷

Independently of the occasion and the community he addressed, he knew that the overwhelming majority of his people were simple folk and, as already stated, his language was always simple, direct and persuasive. Even when he had to use scriptural passages, he was careful in selecting verses that could be easily understood in the original Greek. "Love God and neighbor"; "let brotherly love continue"; "do not neglect to show hospitality"—these and other similar verses abound in his encyclicals. When the occasion called for an appeal to the Greek historical experience, he used popular verses which have come down

²⁵Ibid., pp. 116-17; 120-21.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 122-23.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 123-25.

to us from Hesiod, Isokrates, Plutarch. "Know thyself"; "goods are acquired through hard labor" (τὰ ἀγαθὰ κόποις κτῶνται)²⁸; etc. Very seldom does he refer to the fathers or the intellectual theologians of the Church.

The community (the Greek Orthodox *polis* in America) was of central significance for the survival of the immigrant. Athenagoras' encyclicals²⁹ confirm that the needy Greek Orthodox immigrants came to depend very little, if at all, on public welfare institutions. The local church, and church or ethnic-related societies and associations adequately met the welfare problems of the Greek Orthodox community. A recent study on welfare activities among the Greeks in Los Angeles reflects prevailing norms in Greek Orthodox communities in other cities and states. The author of the above study found "a certain pride among the Greek people in helping their less fortunate compatriots, which is definitely an intrinsic part of their national character; and a scorn of public assistance which kept most of the charity work within the confines of the group itself."³⁰

It is beyond the scope of this essay to examine every aspect of Athenagoras' social welfare involvement and pastoral concerns. I conclude by emphasizing that even a random sample of his encyclicals issued between 1932 and 1948 reveals that Athenagoras was a pastor's pastor. He responded immediately and generously to many life crisis situations whether they occurred in the United States, Greece, Turkey, or elsewhere.

Like an affectionate and unpretentious father, Athenagoras was a discerning and profound student of human nature. Sometimes he was very diplomatic and he even sacrificed truth to expediency, concord, unity. Certainly he was not without his critics. But his ministry, whether in Kerkyra, America, or the Ecumenical Patriarchate, will be remembered for many years to come. No matter what his shortcomings may have been, on the basis of his encyclicals, it is extremely difficult to dispute that Athenagoras was a genuine teacher of love and a pastor of service to his own people, and to all humanity.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 125-27; 141-42.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 186-88; 212-13; 110-15.

³⁰Mary Antoniou, *Welfare Activities Among the Greek People in Los Angeles* (San Francisco, 1974), p. 100. Antoniou examines the period between 1920 and 1939 and reviews the background of the Greeks in the United States, the problems of the Greek immigrants, the role of the Church in their lives, and she devotes a chapter of her book on the Greek families known to social welfare agencies in Los Angeles. For social, economic, and health problems of the Greek immigrants in the inter-mountain West (Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming) see the excellent study of Louis James Cononelos, *Greek Immigrant Labor, a Master of Arts thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of Utah, June, 1979, especially pp. 62-134 and 269-74.*

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RITUALS OF DEATH IN THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD

Dorothy Abrahamse

THANKS TO THE popularity of works by historians like Philippe Aries and Michel Vovelle, the history of death and its rituals has become a legitimate, indeed fashionable, topic in western European social history, as western historians have used testaments, funerary art and popular literature to trace changes in sentiment and ritual that mark the "modernization" of death.¹ Underlying their work is the assumption that funerals and the act of dying, like the family, have evolved in ways that can provide an index to fundamental changes in consciousness and social relationships in the western world. Although these models may be scarcely less controversial than the related topic of the emergence of the modern family, they have led to a productive discussion of death as something other than a timeless certainty.

Mortality and funerals have been little studied in the Byzantine east, and most interest in the subject to date comes not from historians, but from anthropologists and folklorists of modern Greece, where an extensive literature on modern Greek burial customs has evolved.² In contrast to the work of western historians, the view presented in these studies is one of startling continuity; modern Greek funerary rituals, these scholars suggest, derive with little change not only from Byzantium, but from practices of the classical Greek world. Originally opposed by Christianity, this view would argue, endemic folk practices were eventually subsumed and an elaborate ritual of lament and burial continued to be practiced down to the present day; with the major discontinuity coming only in the twentieth century, when the destruction

¹ Michelle Vovelle, *Mourir autrefois* (Paris, 1974) and Philippe Aries, *The Hour of our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York, 1981). For a recent study of western medieval testaments and their evidence for attitudes toward death, see Jacques Chiffolleau, *La Comptabilité de l'au-delà*, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 47 (Rome, 1980).

² Robert and Eva Blum, *The Dangerous Hour* (London, 1971), and Loring Danforth, *Rituals of Death in Rural Greece* (Princeton, 1982). Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), also sees the evolution of lament literature in terms of continuity from the ancient Greek world, and stresses the need for more information from the Byzantine period (especially pp. 24-35).

of village life and tradition has posed a threat to age-old communal mourning customs.³ Although this is a brief and much oversimplified comparison of two approaches to the subject, it points out the need for a better understanding of death and its rituals in Byzantium, for the bulk of the evidence linking modern Greek folk rituals to the past comes from ancient Greece and early Christian writings. Writers on death and funerary practices in Byzantium itself—few in number—have tended to follow a pattern of collecting evidence from different periods and sources to compile a composite picture with little temporal variation.⁴ The assumption of tradition is encouraged by the familiar Byzantine sparsity of sources: during most of the empire, actual funerary practices do not seem to have been a subject of ecclesiastical controversy or regulation or of commentary and consolatory interest, and few actual liturgical pieces devoted to the subject survive.⁵ In hagiography—one source where death and funerals were always prominent—death could easily become a *topos*, as hagiographers repeated traditional formulas without reference to actual practices. Funeral orations and letters of consolation were, certainly, among the most rhetorical of Byzantine *genres*. But without denying the power of Byzantine conservatism, the question of continuity and development in funerary practices is worth examining through the study of specific deaths—monastic, aristocratic, lay—and in different periods and types of source material, even where rituals themselves have precedents. This short paper will look at monastic death in the middle Byzantine period as it appears in the hagiographic sources of the age and suggest, from a comparison with similar descriptions from early Byzantine saints' lives, that significant changes of emphasis may be discerned within the traditions of burial and mourning.

Let us begin with the recapitulation of one of the most extensive descriptions of a monastic death in a hagiographic text of the era. When

³ Blum, pp. 311-21.

⁴ See, for example, G.K. Spyridakis, "Τὰ κατὰ τὴν τελευταίην ἔθιμα τῶν βυζαντινῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀγιολογικῶν πηγῶν" *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* (= EEBS), 20 (1950), 75-171, a very valuable compilation of material, based extensively on hagiographical sources, and Ph. Koukoules, "Βυζαντινῶν νεκρικὰ ἔθιμα," EEBS 16 (1940) 3-80. D.S. Loukatos, "Λαογραφικαὶ περὶ τελευτῆς εἰδήσεις παρὰ Ἰωάννη Χρυσόστομόν," *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 2 (1940) 30-117 is a thorough study of funerals and death in the works of Chrysostom. For the early Christian period, A.C. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Washington, 1941) provides a complete description of liturgical practices.

⁵ A search of Rhalles-Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων* (Athens, 1852-59) and V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople I: Les actes des patriarches*, Vols. 1 and 2 (Paris, 1932, 1936) produced no references to patriarchal legislation or letters on the subject; the comments of Balsamon and Zonaras on the only piece of church council legislation related to the subject (Canon 84 Synod in Trullo, outlawing the practice of giving communion to the dead), does not indicate contemporary concern over the issue (PG 137; 1, p. 253).

Evaristos the Studite was in his seventy-ninth year, he made a night-time prediction of his imminent death to a companion; as he fell ill and death approached, according to the hagiographer, the saint's couch was surrounded by a crowd—"most of the city—men and women, old and young, all ages of monks, laymen and priests," weeping and shouting out against the tyranny of death. The mourners stood around the bed of the saint in a circle, pressing around his pallet 'as though trying to hold his soul' and lamenting for the dying man as their benefactor. The hagiographer adds that as Evaristos became weaker, the mourners stood as though undone by the events, unable to imagine the future. Breathing his last, the saint raised his hands in blessing and formed the last words of Christ with his lips. At the moment of death 'light-bearing angels took his spirit to heaven, driving away evil powers,' and the tears of the mourners were mixed with psalms and hymns as they covered his body in the grave. On the fortieth day after his death, 'on which men are accustomed to honor the dead by the commands of the holy fathers,' miracles began at the tomb through the oil in the light over the coffin.⁶

Although few mid-Byzantine works have descriptions of death as detailed as this, many of its elements can be found in contemporary hagiographical texts. Foreknowledge of approaching death was one of the standard prerequisites of sanctity, and the deathbed of a well-known ascetic could be described as an occasion for mourning by laymen as well as the monastic community, a public event that could last as long as the final hours or days of the saint's life. In the biography of Peter of Argos, a monastic bishop, the onlookers were described by an enthusiastic hagiographer as including not only 'flocks of monks and the order of nuns,' but 'virgins, pious women and youths and old men' of many cities and villages, and the biographer of David, Symeon and George claimed that the news of Symeon's death brought people from all over the region to bewail their impending orphanage and to ask for his blessing.⁷ In most texts, however, the crowds of laymen appear after the death of the ascetic, and the deathbed scene itself is shared only by the monastic community or other ascetics, signifying that, whatever the public importance of the saint, he was, in middle Byzantine hagiography, above all, one whose life and holiness were lived in the context of a monastic world. Thus, the nun Theodora's bedside was attended by

⁶ C. Van den Vorst, ed., "La vie de S. Evariste, higoumène à Constantinople," *Analec-ta Bollandiana* (= AB), 41 (1923), 295-325 (BHG 2153). (Henceforth *V. Evar.*) 42-44.

⁷ *Vita Petri episcopi Argivi* ed., G. Cozza-Luzi, in Angelo Mai, *Nova Patrum bibliotheca* (Rome, 1888) 9, pp. 1-17 (BHG 1504), 20-21. (Cited as *V. Pet. Arg.*) "Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii," ed. I. Van den Gheyn, AB 18 (1899), 211-59 (BHG 494), 37.

other nuns and descriptions of lay saints include the presence of the public, but in most texts it is only at the news of death that hagiographers claimed the presence of throngs of public mourners.⁸

The ascetic community is shown as 'encircling' the bed in many texts, and the metaphor of light-bearing angels who drive away evil spirits may also be found in other accounts.⁹ Its symbolism, with precedents in works of Chrysostom and a *narratio* of the desert father Makarios, may be found dramatically retold in the life of Basil the Younger in a vision of the death of the abbess Theodora. Encircled by a crowd of 'black Ethiopians,' howling like dogs and wolves, accusing her of godless deeds and bearing charts of examination in their hands, she remembered her deathbed as bitterly painful. Two angelic youths struggled with the demons for possession of the dying woman in what modern anthropologists have termed a 'dangerous hour' of the soul.¹⁰ A similar vision of black demons standing around a body in a menacing circle is included in the life of St. Andrew the Fool.¹¹ Although these are *narrationes* incorporated into lives that are notoriously difficult to date and more representative of imaginative literature than hagiography, the stories still reflect an underlying popular belief in the struggle of the soul at death. The encircling psalm-singing community may thus be seen, in one light, as providing protection against demonic threats; conversely, the 'choir' of the community around the bed also stood as suppliants asking the dying man or woman to pray for them to the God he would soon approach.¹² The last words of Evaristos are also

⁸ *Vita Theodoraе Thessalonicensis* (a Gregorio clerico; BHG 1738), ed. E. Kurtz, *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale de Saint-Petersbourg* VIII sér., 6, 1 (1902), 1-36; 43. (Cited as *V. Theod. Thess.*) Presence at lay deathbed: *Vita Mariae junioris*, (BHG 1164), *Acta Sanctorum* Nov. IV, (692-705), 21; Public appears only after death, e.g. *Vita Irenae hegumenaе* (BHG 952), *Acta Sanctorum* Iul. VI (602-34) 89; *Βίος Θεοδώρου Στουδίτου*, PG 99, 113-232 (BHG 1755), p. 229; *Βίος Νικολάου Στουδίτου*, PG 105, 863-925 (BHG 1365), 921; *Vita Iosephi hymnographi a Theophane*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*, (St. Petersburg), 2. 1901, 1-14 (BHG 944), 14-15; *Βίος Εὐστρατίου Αὐγάρου*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, 4, 367-400 (BHG 645) 39.

⁹ *Vita Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii*, ed. I. Van den Gheyn in AB 18 (1899), 211-59 (BHG 494), 33: . . . οἱ τῆς νήσου συναθροισθέντες καὶ πικρῶς τὴν αὐτοῦ στέρνησιν δακρύοντες καὶ ὀλοφύρομενοι, τὸ τετίμιον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολὺαθλον σῶμα περικικλοῦντες; Theodore of Studion, *Ἐπιτάφιος εἰς Πλάτωνα*, PG 99, 804-50 (BHG 1553), 42; *Βίος Θεοδώρου Στουδίτου* p. 229; *Vita Nicetae Patricii*, ed. Denise Papachryssanthou, "La vie du patrice Nicetas," *Travaux et mémoires* 3 (1968), 329-51, 26. Light-bearing angels: *V. Irene* 88.

¹⁰ *Vita Basilii junioris* (BHG 263) ed. A.N. Vesilovsky, *Sbornik otdelenija russkago jazyka . . . imp. akad. nauk* 46 (1899-1890) supp. 3-89, p. 17. For the "Ψυχορράγημα" in Chrysostom, see Loukatos, pp.43-6. The "dangerous hour" is the theme of Blum, pp. 310-21.

¹¹ Nikephoros, *Βίος Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Σαλοῦ*, PG 111.625-888 (BHG 117), 82.

¹² *Vita Nicetae Medicii*, *Acta Sanctorum April. I* (1675) XVIII-XXXIII (BHG 1341), 23.

either a hagiographic commonplace or a ritual act; most deathbed scenes in saint's lives include a long final speech to the monastic community. Details of death bed rituals absent in this *vita* may be found in other texts; thus, the biographer of the Patrician Nicetas tells us that the saint ordered his bed turned to face east, and other works include the placing of the hands of the dying person, crossed, on the breast.¹³ Finally, the facial expression of a dying person is frequently invoked by hagiographers as a sign of his final victory over the attendant demons of death. One of the surest signs of sanctity was the radiant face of the dying man or woman.¹⁴

For most of the individual elements in this description there are numerous hagiographic models from the early Byzantine period. Predictions of impending death, a last speech to disciples, and a radiant dying expression were among the key proofs of sanctity from the time of Athanasius's *Life of Anthony*, and the public importance of a deathbed may be found in many early saints' lives. More specific parallels may also be found: visions of angels at the final moments of life are reported in the lives of Hypatios, Theodore of Sykeon, and Eutychios, and the encirclement of the body by the monastic community may be found in Cyril of Scythopolis's *Life of Euthymios*.¹⁵ Many of these rites (crossing the hands, eastern orientation, facial expression) clearly are part of the common store of Christian tradition, for they can be found not only in early Byzantine texts, but in modern Greek customs and western medieval romances.¹⁶ For the historian, thus, they present a particular problem, for their presence in a ninth or tenth century text could be motivated by hagiographical tradition and the expectation of what made a holy death, or it could reflect the continuity of actual practice in a common tradition.

Much less important to the mid-Byzantine hagiographer (as in the life of Evaristos) was the description of the wake and funeral itself. It is possible, as Spiridakis has done, to glean from passing references in these texts a fairly extensive vocabulary for the preparation of the

¹³ *V. Nic. Pat.* 26. Crossed hands and feet stretched out: *V. Nich. Stud.* 921; Empress Theophano: ed. E. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano die Gemählin Kaisers Leo VI*, *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, VIIIe sér., III, 2 (1898) 1-24; (BHG 1794), 23.

¹⁴ *V. Irenae Chrys.* 88: Καὶ παραντίκα τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ἔλαμψεν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος.

¹⁵ Athanasios, *Βίος τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἀντωνίου*, PG 26.837-976 (BHG 140), 89; *Vita Hypatii a. Callinico* ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, *Vie d'Hypatios. Sources Chrétiennes* 177 (Paris, 1971), 51; *Vita Euthymii a. Cyrillo Scythopolitano*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis. Texte und Übersetzungen* 49.2 (Leipzig, 1939), 5-85, (BHG 648), 39-40; *Vita Eutychii a. Eustratio*, PG 86. 2273-2390 (BHG 657) 96; *Vita Theodori Syceotis*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, *La Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*. *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 48 (Louvain, 1970) (BHG 1748-49c) 168.

¹⁶ Aries, p. 14-18; Danforth, pp. 38-45.

body, its clothing or wrapping in a winding sheet, the placement on a bier and the funeral procession.¹⁷ But most authors mention only those elements of a funeral most essential to the establishment of sanctity: the presence of large crowds of monks and laity bearing tapers and incense, and the renewed singing of psalms, hymns and mourning. (Here the term *threnos* is sometimes used). The customary lamentation could last as long as five days, as the biographer of Constantine the Jew claimed, and some texts contain phrases that suggest the content of a lament.¹⁸

Funeral processions of monks and laity bearing the corpse on their shoulders, accompanied by funeral hymns, are mentioned frequently, and it was probably at this point that hagiographers attested to popular belief in the sanctity of their heroes by describing attempts to seize pieces of the hair, beard or clothing of the body for phylacteries. Thus, Eustratios of Augaros's biographer claimed that a crowd of Constantinopolitans appeared at his death and tried to take clothing, hair or even limbs of the corpse, and the *vita* of the patriarch Ignatios has a crowd tear up the pallet and sheet on which the saint had spent the last hours.¹⁹ In such descriptions biographers were treading well-worn hagiographic ground. Texts as early as the fifth century include the presence of people seeking relics by taking pieces of clothing or cutting hairs from the beard of a dead holy man, and the metaphor is common in pre-iconoclastic lives.²⁰

¹⁷ Spyriadakis, pp. 102-16; clothing and preparation of body: *V. Nic. Pat.* 27; *V. Iren. Chrys.* 89; *Vita Gregorii Decapolitis*, ed. F. Dvornik, *La Vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macedoniens au IXe siècle*. Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'Études Slaves 5 (Paris, 1926), 45-75 (BHG 711), 29-30. The most complete description of the care of the body is in the life of a secular saint, Maria the Younger, where the bathing and clothing of the corpse, its placement on a couch, and the presence of the town are mentioned in some detail. *Vita Mariae junioris, Acta Sanctorum Nov. IV*, 692-705 (BHG 1164), 21-3.

¹⁸ Hymns, laments, tapers and incense brought by crowd, e.g. *V. Iren. Chrys.* 89-90: Ἀνῆπτον δὲ λαμπάδας καὶ κηροὺς καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι τῆς συγκλήτου συνεληλύθασι, ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν, καὶ μεγαλοπρέστατα μύρατε, καὶ θυμιάματα τῶν εὐωδεστάτων, καὶ πολυτίμων ὑπὲρ μέτρον ἀφειδῶς ἀνηλίσκετο. Five day mourning, *Vita Constantini Judaei, Acta Sanctorum Nov. IV* 628-56 (BHG 370), 83. The hagiographer's lament for Evaristos the Studite. *V. Evar. Stud.* 43.

¹⁹ The *vita* of Peter of Argos (ch. 21) contains a good description of the funeral procession of a bishop; the saint's body was carried through the town by priests, accompanied by torches and singing. *V. Pet. Arg.* 21. See also *V. Dav., Sym., Georg.*, 37, *Vita Euthymii junioris*, ed. L. Petit, "Vie de saint Euthyme le jeune," *Révue de l'Orient chrétien* 8 (1903) 168-205 (BHG 655), 38. For the importance of tapers, see Rush, pp. 226-28. Crowds seizing relics: *Vita Basilii junioris a Gregorio discipulo, Acta Sanctorum Mart. III*, (3rd ed.), *20-*32, (BHG 263), 38; *Βίος Εὐστρατίου Αὐγάρου*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *A. I. Σ.* 4, 367-400 (BHG 645), 39; *Βίος Νίκωνος Μετανοεῖτε*, ed. Sp. Lambros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 3 (1906), 131-222 (BHG 1366), p. 182-83; Niketas of Paphlagonia, *Βίος Ἰγνατίου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, PG 105.488-574 (BHG 817), p. 560.

²⁰ *V. Hypat.* 51; *Vita Theodosii a Cyrillo Scythopolitano*, trans. A.J. Festugière, *Les*

The entombment (*entaphios*) in coffin or casket (*glossokomos*) followed. Monastic saints were placed in coffins—in at least two cases identified as wooden—covered with a lid of stone or marble.²¹ The biography of one nun who was not an abbess tells of her burial, at her wish and following the custom of the convent, in a communal tomb, and Paul the Younger was originally buried in a common tomb. Not all monasteries followed the custom, however, for the biographer of Nicetas of Medikion notes that, unlike other communities, his monastery followed the practice of burying each monk separately, in the ground.²²

Here, in an early Byzantine saint's life, the story would have ended with the placement of the coffin in a tomb in a church or other significant spot, the chanting of a liturgy and a final invocation to the saint. Even the biographers of the most spectacular of the sixth and seventh century saints ended their works with the death and funeral of their hero.²³ But for the ninth or tenth century hagiographer an important part of the ritual of death was still to follow. These being extraordinary deaths, hagiographers were concerned to show that miracles could begin before burial; the attending crowds who came in the expectation of some benefit from contact with the relic, and often struggled for a piece of the hair or clothing of the dead ascetic, sought not only something to 'revive memory and prove a safeguard for the soul,' as Cyril of Scythopolis had put it, but to obtain miraculous cures. Contact with Gregory the Decapolite's body, for example, cured a sufferer while it was still lying on the bier; as the body of the Patriarch Ignatius was carried to Constantinople and put briefly in the church of Menas, two women were cured by touching the coffin.²⁴ In response to the needs of sufferers, Eustratios of Augaros's tomb was left open until the customary memorial on the ninth day after death so the sick could approach it.²⁵

Moines d'Orient, V. III, Pt. 3, (Paris, 1963), p. 187; *Vita Eutychii a Eustratio*, PG 86, 2273-2390 (BHG 657), 97-98.

²¹ *V. Ignatii* p. 557; *V. Eustratii* 40, 53-54; *Translatio Theodoraе Thessalonicensis*, ed. Kurtz, I. c., 37-49 (BHG 1739), 3.

²² *V. Theod. Thess.* 43; *Vita S. Pauli junioris*, ed. H. Delehay, AB 11 (1892), 19-74, 136-81 (BHG 1474) 145; *V. Nic. Medik.*, 23.

²³ See, for example, the almost abrupt ending of the life of Symeon the Stylite, or the elaborate description of the death of Theodore of Sykeon (*V. Theod. Syk.* 169); if these and other pre-iconoclastic authors expected additional rituals to be carried out for their saints, they give no indication of it.

²⁴ *V. Theodos.*, p. 187; *V. Greg. Decap.* 30; *V. Ignatii* p. 560.

²⁵ *V. Eustrat.*, 40.

Although public response to the deaths of well-known ascetics like these can tell us little about attitudes to more ordinary monastic bodies, it does point to what is probably the most interesting development in accounts of death in this age—the prolonging of burial rites through the customary memorial period. Commemoration of the dead took place, according to church custom, at the third, sixth, ninth and fortieth days after death, and on its first anniversary.²⁶ The commemorative period was not only important enough to be mentioned by hagiographers, it served often as a period of transition for the body before its final burial in a permanent tomb. The body of Eustratios of Augaros, for example, was carried from Constantinople, where the saint died, to the baths of Prousa, and finally to the monastery church where it was placed in front of the sanctuary. Only after the forty-day commemoration was the saint finally buried on the traditional right side of the church.²⁷ The bodies of Theophanes the Confessor and Theodore of Studion were taken to temporary resting places for a year before they were removed to their final tombs (affected, perhaps, by the iconoclastic struggle) and admirers of Basil the Younger argued about the location of his permanent tomb during the period of mourning. In these, and several other texts, hagiographers expected that the period of extended mourning would coincide with the construction of a permanent tomb in an appropriate site. Thus, the abbess Anastasia's body was kept in a coffin placed next to the ground until her tomb was constructed, as was Irene of Chrysobalantos'.²⁸ Final burial on the anniversary of death (evidently loosely calculated on this occasion) is described most explicitly in the *Vita Retractata* of Peter of Atroa. The saint's anniversary was celebrated with a distribution of food to the poor, (as was the forty-day commemoration of the abbess Athanasia) and the moving of his body from the oratory where it had stood for a year to the grotto-chapel where the saint had prayed and held services. As the monks carried the body to its final resting place, they once again stood in a symbolic circle around their relic—in the words of the hagiographer, they 'circled it seraphically'—and the transfer was accomplished to the accompaniment, once again, of chants,

²⁶ Alexiou, pp. 32-3, based in part on E. Freistedt, "Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage," *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, Münster, 24, (1928), and E. Politis, "Τὰ κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν," *Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα* 3 (Athens, 1931), 323-65. These references were not available to me. See also Spyridakis, pp. 166-71.

²⁷ *V. Eustrat.*, 40, 51-4.

²⁸ *Vita Theophanis a Methodio*, ed. B. Latyšev, *Methodii patr. CP. Vita S. Theophanis conf.* (Mémoires de l'Académie impériale de Russie, VIII série, XIII. 4, 1918), 1-40 (BHG 1787z), 57-8; *V. Theod. Stud.*, 129; *V. Ignatii* p. 560; *V. Iren. Chrys.* 90; *Vita Athanasiae hegumenae* (Lat. only edited), *Acta Sanctorum Aug. III* (1737), 170-75 (BHG 180), 14.

tapers and incense. The new tomb, located in a grotto-chapel where the saint had prayed and held vigils, was excavated into the ground and covered with a marble plaque.²⁹

Placement of a body in its final tomb on the anniversary of death could involve a whole re-burial and its inspection for signs of sanctity. The nuns of the abbess Athanasia's convent, for example, re-clothed her body in new silken garments as the tomb was opened on the anniversary date, and Theodore of Studion's followers brought a winding-sheet, veil, perfumes and incense as offerings to the transfer of his relics to their permanent tomb.³⁰ The state of the body could offer a sure sign of God's favor and, alternatively, as in modern Greece, provide considerable anxiety to the saint's promoters. So concerned was one of Paul the Younger's followers about the appearance of the corpse that he insisted that the tomb be opened in private, 'lest something mortal prove a source of scandal or diminution of his reputation.'³¹ (The body was found to be miraculously filled with sweet smelling unguent, although the bones were dry). The most immediate description of a transfer of relics is Gregory the Cleric's account of Theodora of Thessalonike's disinterment, at which his father had assisted. Theodora, in accordance with her wishes, had been placed in the common convent tomb, but the shattering of the marble plaque covering it ten months after death was taken by the community as a signal of a divine wish for a separate burial place for Theodora. The new memorial was apparently made of wood with a stone 'door,' and the shattered marble plaques were placed above it as a memorial to the miracle of their breaking. The saint's body was carefully enclosed in a new sheet as it was moved by the clergy, lest parts of it separate. It was found to be miraculously whole and undecayed, with only the clothing on her back disintegrated from contact with the ground. The transfer was accomplished to the accompaniment of hymns and psalms, and oil from the lamp over the new tomb began to provide a source for miraculous cures almost immediately.³²

For the historian, hagiographical descriptions of death present, at the least, suggestive possibilities along with some familiar problems. It must always be remembered that the aims of the hagiographer were not biographical, but the establishment of sanctity. No part of the case

²⁹ *La Vita Retractata et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa*, ed. V. Laurent, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 31 (Louvain, 1958), (BHG 2365), 95-7.

³⁰ *Translatio Theodori et Iosephi fratris*, ed. C. Van den Vorst, AB 32 (1913), 50-61 (BHG 1756t); *V. Athanasiae*, 15.

³¹ *V. Pauli jun.* 167.

³² *Translatio Theodoraе*, 3, 6-7.

for sanctity was more crucial than the manner of death, and in no part of a *vita* was conformity to known models more important. Thus, similarities and borrowings between early hagiographical texts and works of the middle Byzantine period are hardly surprising, and we may never be able to determine how rhetoric and real practice are reflected in passages which clearly draw on early texts. Even though a basic continuity of tradition may be expected, it would be foolish to look too literally at passages like the descriptions of crowds appearing at the death of a saint in a mid-Byzantine saints' life. The point to be made from this rather laborious recitation of death and funeral rites is not that individual details of the ritual of death were necessarily new or distinctive in the middle Byzantine period. They clearly were not; the post-funeral commemorations described here are known from late ancient liturgy and canons. It is, rather, that the emphasis on post-funeral commemoration of the dead, delayed interment and even re-burial of the dead in these texts indicates an important development in the ways some deaths—those of ascetic leaders—were seen and celebrated. If these last rituals had not become more elaborate during this period, they had certainly become more significant in the whole celebration of death. Although the change may derive from nothing more than a shift in hagiographic fashion, it is unlikely that this is the case. It may be interpreted, as Loring Danforth has done for modern Greek re-burial rites, as an extension of the process of separation from the dead.³³ But, I suspect that it reflects, above all, a greater integration of veneration for a particular living figure—the ascetic—with that of his dead body as relic and source of miracles for the community that perpetuated his memory and promoted his cult. The rituals summarized here cannot be too easily generalized for the deaths of other classes of Byzantine society, but they may provide a point of departure for further comparative study. In the study that should be made of the evidence for aristocratic and lay death in Byzantium, we must look not only for change and discontinuity of ritual, but for new emphases and development within a conservative tradition.

³³ Danforth, esp. Ch. 2-3. For a good introduction to anthropological approaches to the study of death, see Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death* (Cambridge, 1979).

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Saint Gregory of Nyssa · ΠΕΡΙ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ—ON PERFECTION

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INTRODUCTION

GREGORY OF NYSSAS treatise, *On Perfection*, is addressed to a monk named Olympios who asked direction for attaining perfection. The treatise, which is in the form of a letter, is based almost exclusively upon Paul's great Christological texts which Gregory sets forth as the best guide to imitate Christ. As the treatise unfolds, we see a picture of sanctification traced out which is both a result of human effort and God's good grace. Fellowship (κοινωνία) in Christ's name, the one name by which we are called Christians" (J.174), is perceived by Gregory as a gift to which we thankfully¹ respond by our "determination" (σπουδή). Saint Paul himself is set forth as the "especially sure guide,"² that is, he is a model or "imitation (μίμησις) of Christ by a life according to virtue" (J.196).

*On Perfection*³ falls into one of the five so-called ascetical treatises:

¹For the relationship between thankfulness (*eucharistia*) and perfection, refer to Walther Völker's remarks in reference to Gregory's treatise, *On the Inscription of the Psalms*: "Der grosse Chor der Engel und Menschen verkündet Gottes Herrlichkeit und bringt seine *eucharistia* dar (PG 44.484B-C). Dies ist zwar das Bild der Endzeit, es verwickelt sich aber bereits im Leben des *teleios*, der ja alles Zukünftige schon als gegenwärtig erlebt." *Gregor von Nyssa als Mystiker* (Wiesbaden, 1955), p. 245.

²In Gregory's other works, we find Moses and David as the two other notable guides for a life according to virtue. Hans Urs von Balthasar has this to say about Paul as an Apostle: "Paul is the eyewitness of this step forward (that is, from the pre-Easter testimony), since he not only had to defend his eyewitness arduously in itself, but his eyewitness in this matter against the privilege of the other Apostles . . . For Paul there is no other legitimation than that of his own turning from the Old to the New Covenant and to the new man, his *conversatio morum* . . . the fact that his existence has been so transformed that it has become an incontestable mirroring of the image of Christ. Paul proves himself to be one who has seen essentially by letting himself be seen and by being, in fact, seen." *The Glory of the Lord* (San Francisco, 1982), p. 187.

³The exact chronology of all of Gregory of Nyssa's writings is not known. The critical edition of *On Perfection* may be found in Werner Jaeger's collection, vol. 8, 1. (Leiden, 1952).

On Christian Profession, On the Christian Mode of Life, On Correction, and On Virginity. Among these works, *On Virginity* (Gregory's first work) is closely related to *On Perfection* since both treatises deal with the topic of perfection. We might add to this list the *Life of Macrina* where Gregory's ascetical doctrine is developed. The notion of perfection⁴ (τελειότης) is classic: among the ancient Greeks it was considered as something stable, achieved, and not subject to change. In order to find God, perfection in itself, the soul, in Plato's eyes, must purify itself of all foreign elements and thus come to resemble or imitate the divine archetype. As opposed to Plato, Gregory develops the original insight that perfection lies in progress itself. This is a bold step forward since progress had for the Greek mind the notion of movement and, hence, instability and imperfection. As Jean Daniélou points out,⁵ Gregory associates change with created nature, not evil, and human nature is therefore called to change perpetually according to free choice.⁶ This crucial fact of Gregory's anthropology and spirituality must never be forgotten in order to appreciate his contribution to Christian mysticism. The soul's essence is a participation which always grows but is never achieved; it must consent, that is, practice virtue (ἀρετή). Gregory skillfully shows how the virtues employed "in the civil war within our nature" (J.184) are related to the manifestation of Christ, the true light:

We learn that our life must be enlightened by the rays of the sun of righteousness emanating for our illumination. By them works of darkness are banished that we may walk becomingly in the day. (*On Perfection*, J.185)

To find this God dwelling within us as described by Gregory of Nyssa, the soul must, as was noted above, apply "determination" (σπουδή). Nevertheless, the gratuity of God's communication in Christ

⁴For a modern expression of Christian perfection, refer to the "Constitution on the Church" of the Second Vatican Council: "... all the faithful of Christ . . . are called to the fullness of the Christian life and to the perfection of charity. By this holiness a more human way of life is promoted even in this earthly society. In order that the faithful may reach this *perfection* they must use their *strength* according as they have received it, as a *gift* from God. In this way they can follow in his footsteps and mold themselves in his *image*." *The Documents of the Second Vatican Council* (New York, 1966), p. 67. (My italics to indicate the similarity of words in this document and in Gregory of Nyssa's *On Perfection*.)

⁵"Le problème du changement de saint Grégoire de Nyssa," *Archives de Philosophie*, 29 (1966) 323-47.

⁶"When wisdom and power are manifested in us by choosing the good and by strengthening its perception, the perfection of life is achieved" (*On Perfection*, J.183).

is required which is opposed to the Platonic concept of the soul's self-perfection of all foreign elements to find God. Virtues are not performed according to right reason but according to imitations of the divine attributes implanted in man's nature whereby he is the image of God. For Gregory, "virtue" has a richer significance than it has for Western theology. In its positive aspect it is enlightenment or illumination by God and a communication of his own holiness: "Virtues are the rays (αἱ ἀκτῖνες) of the sun of righteousness" (J.185).⁷ The soul resembles God in that it has infinite movement; it is a question then of finding a movement to imitate the divine immutability which Gregory sees in his notion of progress. This central insight presents a stability, a continuity, or imitation of God. We have a fine statement of the soul's infinity as related to movement and virtue in the *Life of Moses*:

The perfection of everything which can be measured by the senses is marked off by certain definite boundaries . . . But in the case of virtue, we have learned from the Apostle that its limit of perfection is the fact that it has no limit . . . It is undoubtedly impossible to attain perfection since, as I have said, perfection is not marked off by limits: the one limit of virtue is the absence of a limit . . . for the perfection of human nature consists perhaps in its very growth in goodness.⁸

With this passage in mind, it is interesting to read the following sentence from *On Perfection*: "Now the most beautiful effect of change is growth in the good since a change to things more divine is always remaking the man being changed for the better" (J.213). The present state of our human nature has a tendency towards evil that must be countered by the practice of virtue much like an athlete.⁹ Although man has this penchant towards evil, he is called by being created in grace to participate in the divine life which is from above. Gregory indirectly stresses this otherness or gratuity in his enumeration of thirty-two names of Christ in J.175-76. It is significant that most titles refer to Christ's divinity. Prominent among these thirty-two titles are terms dealing with the foundational aspects of reality: first-born, first-fruits, principle of created beings. Although Gregory states his intention of

⁷ Compare αἱ ἀκτῖνες with Heb 1.3 quoted by Gregory, J.187: Christ as "the splendor (ἀπαύγασμα) of glory and stamp (χαρακτήρ) of God's nature." The αἱ ἀκτῖνες of the virtues may be set alongside the quote from Wisd 7.25 (page 7 below): "For she (wisdom) is the breath of the power of God and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty."

⁸ *The Life of Moses*, trans. A. Malherbe and E. Ferguson (New York, 1978), pp. 30 and 31.

⁹ Refer to J.213 for a description of this struggle.

considering Christ's titles in the order which he has listed them, he does not indicate any significance of the order, for there seems to be none. All of these names, of course, are based on the name of Christ, the "one name worthy of our belief" (J.174).

With Christ, the "principle of created beings," as the basis of our perfection, Gregory sees our growth in virtue as a transformation "from glory to glory" (J.214). This is perhaps the phrase Gregory of Nyssa is most famous for, summing up as it does, his entire doctrine of perpetual growth. This "mutable immutability," as Daniélou puts it,¹⁰ is not necessarily restricted to our choice between good and evil; there can be change within the realm of the good in the sense of progress or a continual moving to a higher good. By this continual, progressive transformation in the good, Gregory answers the question, "How, then, can what is fixed and stable in the good be realized in a mutable nature?" (J.213). There are two basic presuppositions underlying the structure of thought about change in the *Life of Moses* as Ronald Heine points out:¹¹ man cannot avoid changing either for the better or for the worse, and can control the direction of this change by his free choice. Moses or the Christian soul is always moving forward in the good, hence, always changing, but never alternating between good and bad. Therefore, Gregory goes beyond the Platonic duality of mutability/immutability, a major step in the history of Christian spirituality:

This indeed is most paradoxical of all: how the same thing is both rest and movement. For he who ascends in no way stands still and he who stands still does not ascend; but in this connection ascending takes place through standing still. This is so because the more a man remains firm and unchanging in the good, the more does he accomplish the course of virtue . . . using his stability as a sort of wing and furnishing his heart with wings for the upward journey through firmness of the good.¹²

Since the continual transformation to the better as movement "from glory to glory" is never real stability, it does not imply a falling backward. Hence continual progress and true stability can be identical, and it is on the basis of this understanding that man can have a permanence in the good. It is the foundation of man's freedom that he bears the image of God, differing inherently from his archetype in being

¹⁰"Le probleme du changement," p. 334.

¹¹*Perfection in the Virtuous Life* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 58-61.

¹²*The Life of Moses*, pp. 117, 118. Compare the reference here of "wing" with a passage from *On Perfection*: "Therefore, what seems fearful (I mean our mutable nature) can serve as a wing for flight to better things" (J. 213).

subject to change. Such change which Plato had seen as a sign of distance from the archetype is presented by Gregory as the means by which man can regain likeness to his archetype by the positive exercise of freedom.

In light of what has just been said regarding perfection and change, Gregory offers the monk Olympios in his treatise an outline for perfection as a creative promise where God's fatherhood is not inaccessible but is manifested in Christ as confronting and removing all barriers as well as taking on all opposition. Such divine perfection is the creative gift of the Father's Self, the "good news" within our reach. As bishop of Nyssa, Gregory combatted the Eunomian heresy by not only emphasizing the divine nature of Christ and the Holy Spirit, but by definitely establishing the incomprehensibility of God; he stressed that our knowledge of God is the result of his presence in us by grace, the domain of the mystical life.

To show the relationship between God's incomprehensibility, a favorite theme of the Greek Fathers, and our human sphere of existence, we find a clue in Gregory's use of Heb 1.3 in J.187 of *On Perfection*: Christ as "the splendor (ἀπαύγασμα) of glory and stamp (χαρακτήρ) of God's nature." One biblical root of ἀπαύγασμα is Wisd 7.25: "For she (wisdom) is the breath of the power of God and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty." The fluidity of words in this passage, plus those of verse twenty-two ('subtle, lively, clear, undefiled') receive a certain stability and contour in χαρακτήρ. Both words, ἀπαύγασμα and χαρακτήρ, give expression to the mystery of beauty where an axis is found to express the personhood of Christ: his generation (passivity) corresponds to χαρακτήρ, while his reflection (activity) is linked to the dynamic ἀπαύγασμα. With regard to Christ's hypostatic union with his Father, Gregory says in *On Perfection*:

In explaining the Son's undivided union with his Father and envisioning him together with the limitless, eternal Father as boundlessly eternal, Paul calls him the 'splendor of glory' and 'very stamp of the Father's substance': by 'splendor' union is shown, and by 'stamp,' equality . . . He who understands God's splendid nature has likewise understood his splendor, and he who comprehends with his mind the substance's greatness has indeed measured God's substance in his manifested stamp. For this reason Paul calls the Lord 'the form (μορφή) of God' (Phil 2.6); he does not diminish the Lord by the notion of a form, but by showing God's greatness in a form by which the Father's majesty is understood, by no means does his majesty exceed its own form nor is it found apart from his stamp (J.189-90).

Here we have a synthesis of ἀπαύγασμα and χαρακτήρ in μορφή, "form," the double act of measurement—God in man and man in God—that descends and ascends¹³ which takes shape in us according to Gal 4.19: "until Christ be formed, μορφωθῇ, in you." This object of beauty, the subject so often treated in all of Gregory's works, is revelation, God's beauty appearing in man and man's beauty found in God through the Incarnation which brings man from a monologue to a dialogue in God's "marvelous light."

One of the titles belonging to Christ is "head of his body, the Church" (J.175). With Christ's appearance, the Church-form is posited: "If we consider the head as pure, it befits each limb (that is, the members of the Church) to be united with the head in purity; if we consider the limbs to be pure by reason of the head's essence, this purity is indeed perfected under such a head" (J.198-99). Christ's form is not seen in isolation much like a painting, for the vertical form of Christ's descent is illegible without the horizontal form of the Church which is metamorphized, like Paul himself, "from glory to glory." Shortly after Gregory treats of the connection between head and members, he refutes those heretics who "maintain that the Only-Begotten God . . . is a work of God" (J.200). The eschatological theme of head/limbs makes no sense if its form is broken or misinterpreted by heretics or those who make a selective disjoining of parts (limbs). They may carefully analyze each part in itself, such as one particular aspect of Christ's form, but they cannot make a whole from these disjoined parts.

Close to the beginning of *On Perfection* Gregory singles out Christ's kingly power, for it sets the stage upon which the Church's mystical body is developed later on in J.197-200: "Thus, all the power of these other names (of Christ) is contained in the word 'kingship,' and he who understands the elements contained in it thereby knows the force which encompasses them individually" (J.177). The problem of Christian living is metaphysical: a name does not determine what an object really is, rather its underlying nature is made known by a suitable name. "A name has no substance in itself, but the underlying nature—whatever that happens to be—is signified by the appropriate meaning of a name . . . If anyone names himself after Christ, it is necessary to see what this name demands for persons taking it upon themselves and then to be conformed to it" (J.177-78).

What lies at the center of Gregory's insight of being conformed to

¹³This quotation from Philippians (2.6) cited in *On Perfection* contains the dynamism of descent and ascent in *morphe*: "He humbled himself" (descent) . . . "wherefore God also has highly exalted him" (ascent).

Christ is ἀπάθεια, the goal of virtue or habitual participation in the divine life.¹⁴ In the treatise *On Perfection*, ἀπάθεια represents the divinity in a creature: "But a state free from passion (ἀπάθεια) looks to the author of detachment" (ἀπάθεια)¹⁵ (J.212). While the presence of ἀπάθεια in us lets us know that God's essence is inaccessible, here it serves to manifest our "likeness to the prototype." Gregory's words here from *On Perfection* may be compared to what he has to say on the subject in his *Commentary on the Song of Songs*:¹⁶

For the rays of that true, divine virtue shine forth in a pure life by the out-flow of detachment (ἀπάθεια) and make the invisible visible to us, and the inaccessible comprehensible by depicting the sun in the mirror of our souls . . . from the virtues we obtain knowledge of the good which transcends all understanding just as the beauty of an archetype can be inferred from its image.

As Jean Daniélou points out,¹⁷ there are two forms of ἀπάθεια: one is eschatological or the stripping of mortality and sexuality on the biological level, while the other is not destructive but uses passions for the restoration of the destroyed order in the soul, that is, to submit them to νοῦς (mind, intelligence). Thus in the words of the *Life of Moses*, "what is mutable and subject to passions was transformed into impassibility through its participation in the immutable."¹⁸

At first sight this passage looks as if Gregory had in mind Plato's ascent from the material existence to the world beyond this one which is not subject to corruption. Within Plato's doctrine we find alongside the contemplation of beauty in its corporeality the contrary tendency to ascend from all incarnational forms in order to attain the beautiful in itself. This anti-incarnational trend of spiritualization is offset in *On Perfection* (J.197) by Gregory's admirable depiction of Christ's passion, an anticipation of medieval writers in their devotion to his humanity. Christ, the "archetypal image of God," allows us to behold all his qualities and adorns us with its "splendid form" to express the invisible God through patience. Our (Christian) contemplation of this image is opposed to the distanced (Platonic) consideration of the world

¹⁴ ". . . the human person might be espoused to God by becoming a pure virgin instead of a bridegroom and by clinging to the Lord become one spirit through a union with what is pure and free from passion (ἀπαθείς)," First Homily, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*.

¹⁵ Walther Völker points out the similarity between ἀπάθεια and virginity in *Gregor von Nyssa als Mystiker*, p. 259-64.

¹⁶ Third Homily, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*.

¹⁷ *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique* (Paris, 1944), p. 68.

¹⁸ *The Life of Moses*, p. 61.

of the forms. Paul states that such θεωπία is the metamorphosis of the beholder into the image he beholds (2 Cor 3.18, 'from glory to glory,' cited in J.214). Θεωπία occurs when our human existence is spread out, so to speak, under the image offered by God, and Christ, the image of the invisible God, unfolds *into* the person contemplating it with the consequence of our being established in ἀπάθεια or virtue. Such was the metamorphosis of Paul who assumed Christ's form.

On Perfection explicitly asserts that Christ, "mediator between the Father and those who have lost their inheritance" (J.205), did not only receive the "first fruits of our common nature through his soul and body," but he will also admit us "to share in his divinity" if we are clean from sin. No mention is made here of any physical contact¹⁹ between limbs and head, but assimilation is made on the basis of the mediator's purity: "(the Christian) will be admitted to partake of the divinity by the mediator after having become pure to receive is purity" (J.205). This assumption of human nature as "first fruits" shows that Christ had a concrete human φύσις, a certain individual manhood which touched all of our human nature. As Reinhard Hübner has pointed out, the Incarnation touches all humanity by means of Christ being ἀπαρχή.²⁰ Just as Adam had imperfectly showed the ideal man, Paul's thought as later developed by Irenaeos and Gregory, manifests the characteristic tendency to stress humanity as a whole as opposed to the individual. Just as all mankind has partaken of Adam's sin, so is it restored in Christ:

Christ brought the Spirit's grace upon the first fruits of our nature so that all those born into life from a spiritual rebirth might bear the name of 'brothers of the first born' through water and the Spirit (*On Perfection*, J.202).

As well as treating the relationship between head and limbs (members of the Church) in *On Perfection*, Gregory's other short treatise²¹ goes into the matter more carefully with regard to the notion

¹⁹The union is effected by "Christ's own divine power," δύναμις (J.204-05).

²⁰"Nicht die physische Konsubstantialität des Erstlings und Breis ist, wie es hätte scheinen können, der die Universalität des Heils verbürgende Grund, sondern die Angleichung an die Reinheit des Mittlers, die eine neue, geistige Konsubstantialität begründet. Bezeichnenderweise besteht die 'naturgemässe' Homouseität des Hauptes des Leibes der Kirche mit seinen Gliedern . . . in Reinheit, Unvergänglichkeit, Friede, Heiligung, Wahrheit . . . Die eschatologische Einheit des Leibes, die in dem universalen Besitz der ursprünglichen Gottenbildlichkeit liegt, wird durch die Tugend ewährleistet." *Die Einheit des Leibes Christi bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Leiden, 1974), pp. 200-01.

²¹"When (the Father) Will Subject All Things to (the Son), Then (the Son) Himself Will Be Subjected to Him (the Father) Who Subjects All Things to Him (the Son)—A Treatise on First Corinthians 15.28 by Saint Gregory of Nyssa," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 28 (1983) 1-25.

of subjection (ὑποταγή). Let us parallel two passages from both treatises:

A Treatise on First Corinthians 15.28:

Unity then means to be one body with (Christ), for all who are joined to the one body of Christ by participation are one body with him. When the good pervades everything, then the entirety of Christ's body will be subjected to God's vivifying power. Thus the subjection (ὑποταγή) of this body will be said to be the subjection of the Son himself as united to his own body, that is, the Church (PG 44.1317A).

On Perfection:

The entire head has the same nature and substance as the body under its subjection (τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ), and the individual members as a whole partake of a single unity effecting a full cooperation among the limbs in every activity (J.197).

The first passage stresses the subjection of the Church's body to Christ with the good pervading all limbs or members to make them equal. This equality means that each limb retains its proper distinction or function in Christ yet all are the same in relation to the head. Once all the limbs are pervaded by Christ, a "second subjection" occurs, that is, of Christ to the Father: "When every creature has become one body and is joined in Christ through obedience to one another, he will bring into subjection his own body to the Father" (*A Treatise on First Corinthians 15.28*, M.1320A). Gregory thus interprets Paul's notion of subjection as "human nature in its entirety" (1320B) under the two-fold subjection to Christ and to the Father. Christ comes *from* his vision of the Father and therefore always has it "at his back," so to speak, while he is always on his way *back* to the Father. As coming from the Father, he is always caught up in the act of incarnation or bringing vision into existence and of contemplation into action. As returning to the Father, Christ is forever handing man over (subjecting) to God. Being this two-fold movement from God to man and from man to God, Christ is the very center of the New Covenant, the perfect correspondence between God and man.

The second passage (*On Perfection*) stresses the unity of head and body which cooperate in action. Each limb as εἰκὼν is the expression or "equipment"²² of man with the divine power therefore signifying the original perfection of each one's φύσις so that εἰκὼν and ὁμοίωσις

²²Gregor von Nyssa als Mystiker, p. 67.

becomes synonymous: 'Ὁμοίωσις as applied to man is clear, that is, it is the sum of the uttermost possibilities of man's likeness to God not only by nature, but the whole supernatural life of which man is capable. A quotation from *On Christian Profession* clarifies this:

If we who are united to him by faith in him are called by a name (Christian) surpassing those which explain his incorruptible nature by means of this name, it must in consequence be identical in us (PG 46.241D-44A).

Gregory then proceeds in this treatise, which is akin to *On Perfection*, to speak of links of a chain joined together with Christ as link forming a circle, and identifies the meaning of Christianity as "imitation of the divine nature" (244C). The notion of a circle (perfection) may also be equated with the balance between εἰκὼν and ὁμοίωσις in each limb: such is another way of looking at subjection and the modeling of ourselves on Christ's form (μορφῇ) with its two-fold composition of descent and ascent.²³ This is in keeping with the theme dear to the Greek fathers of knowing God's incorruptible nature. The word "kingdom" contains the reality of all the other names (of Christ)" (J.177). Gregory singles out this term in *On Perfection* which is being consistent with the already described notions of subjection and balance of εἰκὼν and ὁμοίωσις. His stress on the development of εἰκὼν and its consequence for his teaching on virtue rests not so much on individual persons but on mankind as a whole as εἰκὼν, the subject of *On the Making of Man*. The main ingredient of knowledge of God through our εἰκὼν is faith leading to an inner relationship with Christ: "The beginning of erecting this exalted life is faith; upon such a foundation we lay the principles of our life" (*On Perfection*, J.193). This life is a succession of inner ascents from which new horizons continually open out from our practice of ascetism. Thus, while a distinction between ascetism and mysticism is made by Gregory, he sees a continual passage from one to the other.²⁴

Gregory ends his treatise *On Perfection* with the very word "perfection" just as he began it with the same word (in verbal form). In his *Life of Moses*, the bishop of Nyssa points out the similarity between

²³Cf. page 353-54, above.

²⁴Gregory stresses this inner relationship with Christ in his *Commentary on the Song of Songs*. Although the ascetical aspect gets due attention, he develops Origen's Christological teaching, that is, participation in Christ's sonship which makes us children of God. As a result of the Christological controversies of the fourth century, Gregory refined it further, seeing the spiritual life as an organic whole whose germ lies in the mystery of baptism.

“end” and “goal” (τέλος), a term which is closely connected with “perfection” (τελειότης):

I mean by ‘goal’ that for the sake of which everything is done; the goal of agriculture is the enjoyment of its fruits; the goal of building a house is living in it; the goal of commerce is wealth; and the goal of striving in contests is the prize. In the same way, too, the goal of the sublime way of life is being called a servant of God.²⁵

The τέλος of life according to virtue is beatitude, but since God is “blessed” in the truest sense, we are blessed by participation in him, and thus both the definition of human beatitude and the τέλος of life according to virtue consists in assimilation to God: “the characteristics of the true Christian are the same we apply to Christ. We imitate those characteristics we are able to assume, while we venerate and worship what our nature cannot imitate” (J.178). The “restless concentration”²⁶ upon our heavenly goal restores us to the angelic life (ισάγγελος, or better, life on the same plane as the angels). Such is the dynamic, on-going process of our ἐπέκτασις, a movement beyond all experience, for the good, as Gregory so often points out, is not circumscribed by any limit.²⁷ *On Perfection* closes with mention of a “wing,” that is, our mutable human nature, which serves “for flight to better things” (J.213). We may parallel such a wing with the angels’ wings who continually fly upward “from glory to glory” (J.214). While Gregory may present himself to the monk as an unworthy example of perfection, he suggests to him that the ideals of the Christian life, while lofty, are by no means unattainable without a genuine struggle. The Christian, however, is to take courage, for change is a guarantee of progress in the spiritual life: by daily growth (the Christian) always becomes better and is always being perfected (ἀεὶ τελειούμενος) yet never attains perfection’s goal (πρὸς τὸ πέρας τῆς τελειότητος).²⁸

* A note regarding the text, *On Perfection*: In the left margins of the text are the letters “J” and “M”. “J” refers to Werner Jaeger’s critical text (Leiden, 1952, 8.1); while “M” refers to Migne’s edition, PG 46.

²⁵The *Life of Moses*, p. 136.

²⁶Gregor von Nyssa als *Mystiker*, p. 233.

²⁷“Der stufenförmige Aufstieg zur Vollkommenheit ist also zugleich eine immer reinere Aufprägung der ισάγγελος-Würde.” Gregor von Nyssa als *Mystiker*, p. 245.

²⁸Note the dynamic thrust of πρὸς, “towards, in the direction of,” as in Jn 1.1: “and the Word was *with* God,” πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.

THE TREATISE

[J.173] YOU MANIFEST A DETERMINATION to know how you
and can perfect your life in accord with virtue so that through
[M.252] all events, you may succeed in being blameless in life. I
would especially like good examples to be found in my own
life for offering instruction in facts rather than in theory.
Since I wish for this to be eventually accomplished, even
though I do not see such a thing happening in me that I
may give my life as an example instead of words in order
that it might not seem entirely imperfect nor an un-
profitable example to you for this purpose, I thought of
suggesting an outline for right living, so here begins the
subject.

[J.174] Our good Lord Jesus Christ offered us fellowship in the
worship of his name so that anything else we can name
is of no profit to us, whether riches, a noble family, being
low-born, poor, or any dignity resulting from pursuits or
honors. One name is worthy of our belief, the one by which
we are called Christians. Once we have received this favor
from above, we must first consider the greatness of this
gift so that we may worthily give thanks to so bounteous
a God; then we will show by our lives the power this great
name implies. Therefore, let the greatness of this gift by
which we are made worthy of showing the same name of
the Lord of our lives thus become clear to us provided that
we recognize it as symbolic of Christ's name. And in ad-
dition to this, when we call upon the Lord of the universe

[M.253] in our prayers, we are including such a meaning in our
minds, for we believe we are piously calling upon him by
this name while contemplating it. Then by taking this name
as a teacher and guide for our lives, we will clearly learn
to progressively manifest through the determination of our
lives how we should act. We will have the blessed Paul for

[J.175] an especially sure guide for these two matters as to clarify
the object of our inquiry. Of all persons he is exception-
ally noteworthy: he understood who Christ is and the re-
quirements of the person named after him. Paul spoke of
what he himself had accomplished and thereby accurately
imitated him in a way as to show the Lord expressed in
his own person. By a most careful imitation, Paul changed
his soul into a model so that no longer is Paul perceived

as living and speaking, but Christ lives in him. As he who had well perceived his own good said so well, "You seek proof that Christ is speaking in me" (2 Cor 13.3), and that "I live no longer; Christ lives in me" (Gal 2.20).

[J.176] Paul's words, therefore, show us the significance of Christ's name when saying that he is the power and wisdom of God. But he also called Christ peace, inaccessible light where God dwells, sanctification, redemption, the great high priest and Pasch, propitiation of souls, splendor of glory, stamp of (God's) substance and maker of the ages, spiritual food and drink, rock, water, foundation of faith, chief cornerstone, image of the great and invisible God, head of his body the Church, first-born of the new creation, first fruits of those who have fallen asleep, first-born from the dead and first-born among many brothers, mediator of God and of men, only-begotten Son crowned with glory and honor, Lord of glory, the principle of created beings, for he, the beginning, said this about himself (Col 1.18). Christ is the beginning, king of righteousness, king of peace, and in addition to these, king of all things with his infinite power of kingship; he has many other names which cannot be easily numbered. Since all these names are related to each other, the understanding of each one by itself contributes to manifest its meaning and gives us a certain manifestation of the significance of Christ's name in as much as we can comprehend for showing God's ineffable greatness. Since the dignity of (God's) kingdom transcends every honor, power and sovereignty, the name of Christ rightly and above all designates God's kingly power (for it preceeds the king's anointing as we have learned in the historical books—1 Sam 9.16) while the word "kingdom" contains the reality of all the other terms.

[J.177]

[M.256] Thus, all the power of these other names is contained in the word "kingship," and he who understands the elements contained in it thereby knows the force which encompasses them individually. This is the kingdom indicated by the name of Christ. Since we have received by the good Lord fellowship in the greatest, most divine and first of names to make us worthy of being called Christians by Christ's name, every term explaining this name must be perceived in us so that the name given us is not false but is borne out by our lives. A name has no substance in itself,

but the underlying nature—whatever that happens to be—is signified by the appropriate meaning of a name. I give an example: if the name “man” is attributed to a tree or a rock, will a man then be a plant or stone because of a name? No, but it is necessary for a man to first exist, and he can then assume the appropriate name of his nature. Names are not applied on the basis of similarities, as if one calls a man a statue or a horse its image; however, if anyone properly bestows a name on an object, its true nature will indeed correspond with the name. If a material imitates any substance it may, it is so named: bronze, stone, or anything else that art has imposed on it and has given its appearance a shape.

[J.178]

If anyone names himself after Christ, it is necessary to see what this name demands for persons taking it upon themselves and then to be conformed to it. This is similar to a distinction made from properties between the picture and the true man where the distinction is made from the properties of each (for the rational animal is called intellectual while the other is an inanimate material taking on an image by imitation). Thus we recognize both the true and apparent Christian by the properties of their respective manifestations. The characteristics of the true Christian are the same we apply to Christ. We imitate those characteristics we are able to assume, while we venerate and worship what our nature cannot imitate. It is therefore necessary for the Christian life to radiate with all the names describing the meaning of Christ: those we imitate and those we worship if the man of God is to be perfect and does not mutilate the good with anything evil as the Apostle says (2 Tim 3.17).

[J.179]

For instance, mythical stories are constructed either through literature or works of art, such as beasts with a bull’s head, centaurs, serpents with feet, or any such thing fashioned from different kinds of animals or do not resemble the archetype in nature, but manifest it through a confused idea: they give shape to something else, not man, giving reality to something not real. No one can say that man was formed through this absurd composition even if part of the image should resemble an aspect of the human body. Thus the Christian with an irrational beast’s head would not be properly named, that is, if he is not attached in faith to the head of the universe which is the Word.

[M.257]

Although perfect in other parts, he does not fittingly show

the body's manner of life by having faith in the head. He as the same nature as wild serpents, and has become like these reptiles or lustful horses in human form, or like a centaur with a double nature, rational and irrational. One can see many people like this with the head of a calf, that is, a system of idolatrous belief for directing their lives—such persons depict the Minotaur—or those with a Christian face who conform their bodies to a beast-like existence; such persons form centaurs or serpent-footed creatures. Therefore, just as with regard to a human body, so should the Christian be recognized in his entirety as equipped with all endowments considered as belonging to Christ: his life's characteristics signify his faith. For if one part wishes to have this name (that is, Christian), the others must be declined; nothing remains except to destroy in oneself through virtue the enemy's host and the unplaceable, irreconcilable revolt of evil. "For what fellowship does light have with darkness?" says the Apostle (2 Cor 6.14).

[J.180]

Since what is opposed to the light cannot be mixed or joined with it, the person having both elements (that is, light and darkness) does not eliminate one of them by setting them up in opposition to each other: he is necessarily divided because light and darkness are simultaneously present in his life. While faith lets in light, a dark life necessarily obscures one's splendor. Since light's fellowship can neither be joined nor reconciled with darkness, the person embracing one of these opposing elements has war within himself: a division between virtue and evil like a hostile battle-order is drawn up in himself. Just as two enemies fighting each other cannot share the victory (for the victory of one brings about the ruin of the other), the better part has no victory with regard to this domestic struggle arising from a composite life unless the other side is utterly destroyed. For how can the army of true religion prevail against evil while the force of wickedness fights against it? If the good is to conquer, then the adversary must indeed be destroyed. Thus virtue will be victorious against evil when the entire army is reduced to nothing by combat with the assistance of good thoughts. Then the words of God spoken in prophecy will be fulfilled: "I kill and I will make alive" (Dt 32.39), for the good in me cannot otherwise live unless brought to life by the enemy's death. As long as we have these two elements (good and

[J.181]

[M.260] evil) in opposition to one another, it is impossible to partake of them both, for when we lay hold of evil, virtue slips from our grasp.

Let us once again return to the beginning of our discussion because there is one way to a pure, divine life for lovers of virtue, and that is to know the significance of Christ's name to which our life must be conformed and shaped according to virtue through the manifestation of his other names. We will therefore mention such words and names at the beginning of our treatise explaining the significance of Christ from the saintly Paul. By presenting these words to stimulate us, we will make a sure path for a life according to virtue through imitating, as was said earlier, worshiping, and revering them. Let the enumeration of such terms then form an order for us, and we can therefore begin with the first names: Paul says that Christ is the power and wisdom of God (1 Cor 1.24). By these words we first learn the notions befitting God through Christ's name by which it becomes worthy of our worship. Since all creation is known by sense perception and transcends our sense understanding by which it comes into being and in which it is constituted, wisdom is necessarily united to power for defining the significance of Christ who made the universe. This is what we understand by the union of these two terms, power and wisdom. These great, inexpressible marvels of creation would not have existence unless wisdom intended their birth while power accompanied wisdom to perfect (wisdom's) designs by which her intentions become deeds.

The significance of Christ fittingly has a two-fold meaning: wisdom and power, in order that when considering the great order of living beings, we understand God's immense power through what we comprehend. When we take into account that things without being came into existence while nature's multiformity is invested with being through the divine command, then we can worship Christ's incomprehensible wisdom who has them in mind and whose thoughts effect action. It will be to our advantage to believe Christ as power and wisdom for creating what is good. For the person who prays calls upon him; looking with his soul's eye, he is drawn near him through prayer. Thus he is strengthened by power according to the inner man, as the Apostle says, looks upon the power (that is, Christ). He becomes wise as *Proverbs* says (2.2), who invokes wisdom which is

[J.183]

again understood as the Lord. Therefore, he who has assumed Christ's name—who is wisdom and power—and shares this name by reason of power, fights valiantly against sin and will manifest wisdom in himself by choosing the good. When wisdom and power are manifested in us by choosing the good and by strengthening its perception, the perfection of life is achieved as composed by these two elements. By thus understanding Christ as peace, we will manifest the true name of Christian if we show Christ in our life by his peace: he destroyed the enemy, as the Apostle says (Eph 2.14). Therefore, let none of us give life to this enemy in ourselves, but let us show his death in our lives.

[M.261]

[J.184]

Let us never incite, to our soul's detriment what has been nobly slain by God for our salvation through anger and the recollection of injuries, thereby effecting a bad resurrection of what has been indeed been put to death. But if we have Christ who is peace, let us kill the enemy in ourselves; by believing in him, we will follow him in our lives. Christ destroyed the intervening wall and formed one man in himself out of two, thereby making peace (Eph 2.14). Let us therefore hasten to reconcile not only those fighting outside us but those rebelling within, that the flesh may no longer lust against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh (Gal 5.17); rather, with the flesh's prudence subjected to the divine law, we may be at peace within ourselves, having been transformed into one new peaceful man, with the two becoming one. The definition of peace is harmony of discordant elements. When the civil war in our nature is destroyed, we then become peace by cultivating peace in ourselves and by showing the true, proper name of Christ upon us. By understanding Christ as the true light (Jn 1.9) which has no part in falsehood, we learn that our life must

[J.185]

be enlightened by the rays of the true light. Virtues are the rays of the sun of righteousness emanating for our illumination. By them works of darkness are banished that we may walk becomingly in the day (Rom 13.12-13) after having renounced hidden, shameful works. With all our actions done in the light, we become light itself so that we may illumine others about what befits the light. If we understand Christ as our sanctification (1 Cor 1.30) and reject every unholy, impure deed and thought, we will truly show ourselves as partakers of his name while confessing the power of his sanctification not by words but by the

deeds of our lives.

By understanding that Christ is our redemption who gave himself as a ransom for us, we learn by this fact that just as he granted us immortality by becoming a kind of payment for each soul, Christ made us his own possession those he redeemed from death through life (1 Tim 2.6). If we have become servants of him who redeemed us, we indeed look to him who rules over us; no longer do we live for ourselves but for him who acquired us through the exchange of his life (1 Cor 6.20). We are no longer masters of ourselves but he who purchased us is the Lord of his own possessions, we his own property. Therefore, the law of our life is his governing will. While death held us in its grasp, the law of sin prevailed over us (Rom 8.2); since we have become the possession of life, our way of living must be conformed to his governing authority so that by not deviating from the will of life, we might never again fall subject through sin to our souls' wicked tyranny which I call death.

[J.186]

[M.264]

This consideration unites us to Christ provided that we are attentive to Paul who calls him the Pasch (1 Cor 5.7) and high priest (Heb 4.14). Christ the Pasch was truly sacrificed for us, but the priest offering sacrifice to God is no other than Christ himself: "He gave himself for us as an offering and sacrifice" (Eph 5.2). We therefore learn that by regarding Christ who gave himself as an offering and sacrifice, he became the Pasch and presented himself to God as a sacrifice: living, holy, acceptable, and a spiritual worship (Rom 12.1). However, this kind of sacrifice is no longer to be conformed to the present age but is to be transformed by the renewal of one's mind for proving what is the good, acceptable and perfect will of God (Rom 12.2). God's good will is not manifested in the life of the flesh unless the flesh is sacrificed according to the spiritual law: therefore, the flesh's prudence is inimical to God and is not subject to his law (Rom 8.7). While the flesh is alive—for it is to be sacrificed through a living victim by the mortification of our bodily limbs (Col 3.5) which bring about passions—it is impossible for the acceptable, perfect will of God to be accomplished without impediment in the life of believers. By understanding Christ as a propitiatory sacrifice with his own blood, Paul teaches that each of us may become a propitiatory sacrifice by purifying our souls through the mortification of our limbs. When Christ is mentioned as the

[J.187]

“splendor of glory and stamp of God’s nature” (Heb 1.3), we recognize his majesty as worthy of adoration by these words. As truly inspired and divinely instructed, Paul searched in the depths of the wealth of wisdom and knowledge of God the hidden, secret mysteries of God (2 Cor 12.4). He was divinely illumined with regard to the perception of unsearchable, unutterable things since his tongue was too weak for his thoughts. The hearing of those things he received made room for his comprehension of the mystery as through sparks, so to speak, and he uttered as much as speech had power to serve his thought. Although our human capacity can recognize whatever pertains to the divine nature, God’s transcendent essence is shown as totally incomprehensible by human reasoning.

[J.188]

Therefore, what we have considered in connection with the divine nature—peace, power, life, righteousness, light, truth, and so forth—declares that God can never be comprehended. Paul says that God can never be seen nor gazed upon: “Whom no one has seen nor can see” (1 Tim 6.16).

[M.265]

Therefore, in seeking a name for what cannot be grasped by concepts because he did not find a name to express the incomprehensible in words, Paul names “glory” and “substance” that which transcends every good and can never adequately be understood nor expressed. Paul thus said that the transcendent “substance of beings” has no name. In explaining the Son’s inseparable union with his Father and envisioning him together with the limitless, eternal Father as boundlessly eternal, Paul calls him the “splendor of glory” and “very stamp of the Father’s substance”: by “splendor,” union is shown, and by “stamp,” equality. Neither is anything understood as lying

[J.189]

in between the Father’s light and splendid nature, nor is there any diminishment of the stamp with respect to his substance stamped by the Son. Rather, he who understands God’s splendid nature has likewise understood his splendor, and he who comprehends with his spirit the substance’s greatness indeed measures God’s substance in his manifested stamp. For this reason Paul calls the Lord “the form of God” (Phil 2.6); he does not diminish the Lord by the notion of a form, but by showing God’s greatness in a form by which the Father’s majesty is understood, by no means does his majesty exceed its own form nor is it found apart from his stamp: there is nothing formless and

unbecoming to the Father which is not made known by the Only-Begotten Son's beauty. The Lord thus says, "He who has seen me has seen the Father" (Jn 14.10). Neither lack nor excess (on the Son's part) is shown by this statement.

[J.190] But in saying that God bears everything by the word of his power (Heb 1.3), Paul dispels the perplexity of those curious about uninvestigated matters. While seeking the reason for material existence, they do not show curiosity when asking, "How does matter come from what is immaterial?" And, "How does quality come from what lacks quality, form from formlessness, color from what is invisible and the limited with its own bounds from the unbounded? If no quality pertains to what is simple and uncompounded, how is it that matter has qualitative elements?" The person asking these questions finds a solution because the Word bears everything by his word of power from non-existence into existence. Everything with a material or immaterial nature has one cause of their substance, the Word of inexpressible power. From this we learn to look to him from whom comes the birth of created beings. If we have come into existence and are established in him, it is indeed necessary to believe that nothing lies outside his knowledge in whom we are, from whom we have come into existence, and to whom we return. With this in mind, it is possible that one's innocence can be retained. What person who believes to live from, through, and in him (Rom 11.36) dares to give witness by an unsuitable life to him who contains each person's life in himself?

[M.268] The divine Apostle names the Lord spiritual food and drink (1 Cor 10.3-4). By these words Paul suggests that human nature is not simple, but he considers that the spiritual is mixed with the sensible in us with the food appropriate to each element: corporeal food strengthens the body while spiritual food gives health to our souls. But just as the combination of solid and moist food with respect to the body preserves our human nature after they

[J.191] have been mingled in us by proper digestion with the mixture of each elementary food, Paul in a corresponding manner, combines spiritual food after this example: he calls food and drink the same thing, fittingly adapting them for the use of those to whom they have been given. Bread is for the weak and tired since it strengthens man's heart;

wine is for those wearied from this life's hardship, and by it the hearts of the thirsty are gladdened (Ps 103.15).

[J.192] We must understand through these words the power of scripture by which the soul is fittingly nourished in its need after receiving grace from God according to the mystery expressed by the prophet (Ps 22.2) who indicates consolation for those laboring in a place of green grass and restful waters. If anyone regarding this mystery says that the Lord is rightly named food and drink, this does not detract from its proper meaning, for his flesh is truly food and his blood is truly drink (Jn 6.55). But the sense expressed here is participation in the Word by each person according to his capacity; it becomes food and drink offered without discrimination after it is received by those seeking him. In another sense, however, participation in this food and drink requires a careful, thoughtful examination of oneself. Thus the Apostle states more specifically, "Let a man examine himself, and so eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For anyone who eats and drinks unworthily eats and drinks judgment upon himself" (1 Cor 11.28-29). To me, the Evangelist (Lk 23.53) seems to clearly confirm this statement when at the time of Christ's mystical passion that noble member of the council (Nikodemus) received the Lord's body in a spotless, pure linen cloth and placed him in a new, unused tomb. Therefore, every law of the Apostle and observance of the Gospel becomes our norm to receive Christ's holy body with a pure conscience; if anyone has a blemish due to sin, he cleanses it by the water of tears.

[M.269] But it is said that Christ is a rock (1 Cor 10.4); by this term our lives should be firm and stable according to virtue, and we should firmly endure sufferings, resist every assault of sin and manifest a constant, steadfast soul. For by these and similar qualities we become the rock imitating the Lord's immutability and constancy as far as possible in our mutable nature. If the rock is named the foundation of faith (Eph 2.20) and chief cornerstone (Lk 20.17) by the wise architect (1 Cor 3.10), it will show us that a life according to virtue is profitable. We learn by these examples that the Lord is both beginning and end of every good manner of life, knowledge and undertaking (Col 1.27), for hope which we understand as the head to which all our virtuous undertakings look, is so named by Paul

[J.193]

(2 Cor 1.7). The beginning of erecting this exalted life is faith (Lk 14.28) in Christ; upon such a foundation we lay the principles of our life and through our daily affairs, noble thoughts and deeds are effected. Thus the head of the universe becomes our head fitting itself to the two walls of our lives—body and soul—which are built by correct behavior and purity through the cornerstone's unity. If any other part of the building should be deficient because it is not constructed according to the appearance of a lovely soul in purity or does not contribute to manifest the soul's virtue, Christ would not be the head of this half-completed life. He fits himself to the building by an angle consisting of two parts only, for it is impossible to have an angle without two walls touching each other. Then the cornerstone's beauty will be set upon our structure when on both sides this two-fold life which is proper, correct, and has nothing crooked or bent, will be fittingly extended according to the straight norm of life with the cord of virtues.

[J.194]

Paul calls Christ the image of the invisible God (Col 1.15), the God who is over all things and the great God. (With these words he proclaims the true God's greatness, saying, "of the great God and our Savior, Jesus Christ"—Tit 2.13, and "from whom is Christ according to the flesh who is God over all, blessed forever"—Rom 9.5.) In saying this, Paul teaches us that God is the one who eternally exists. (He is the one who alone is greater than human comprehension; if a person understanding the things above constantly draws near to him, God is forever transcendent by equal measure.) Therefore, the One who is unutterable, ineffable, and indescribable, transcends all knowledge and comprehension for the purpose of again making you God's image. He became the image of the invisible God out of love so that in his own form which he assumed, he might be formed in you and that you again might be conformed through him to the stamp of archetypal beauty for becoming what he was from the beginning. Thus if we are to become the invisible God's image, it is fitting that the form of our life be modelled upon the pattern given us (Jn 13.15). What is this model? He who lives in the flesh does not live according to it (Rom 8.12). That prototype is the image of the invisible God; having become man through the Virgin, he was tempted in all things according to the likeness of human nature yet did not

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[M.272]

experience sin. "He committed no sin, neither was any guile found in his mouth" (1 Pet 2.22).

[J.196] If we are taught the art of painting, our teacher gives us a certain beautiful form on a tablet: the beauty of that form must be imitated by each person's painting so that all our tablets might be adorned according to the model of beauty set before us. Since according to this example each picture is one's own life while the choice of this work is the artist's, and the colors are virtues which express the image, there is no small danger for the archetypal beauty's imitation to be remodelled into an ugly, deformed face; instead of the Lord's form, we shadow it over with the marks of evil by means of unattractive colors. But it is possible for the virtues' pure colors skillfully combined with each other to imitate beauty so that we might be an image of the Image, expressing through our works the prototype's beauty by imitation, as it were, as Paul has done who had become an imitator of Christ by a life according to virtue (1 Cor 4.16). If we must singly distinguish the colors in Scripture by which we get an imitation of the image, one such color is humility: "Learn from me because I am meek and humble of heart" (Mt 11.29). Another color is patience: How is it manifested in the image of the invisible God?: swords and cudgels, chains and whips, blows on the cheeks, face spat upon, a wounded shoulder, a wicked judgment, harsh decree, soldiers enjoying their hostile remarks with mockery, sarcasm and blows from a reed; they offer him nails, gall, vinegar, and every horror without reason, especially as repayments in exchange for his innumerable benefits. What defense is there against such things as these? "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing" (Lk 23.34). Was it impossible to rend heaven against them?; destroy their violence by making a chasm in the earth?; cast upon them the rain of fire as upon Sodom?; bring grievous afflictions against them by a command? But Christ bore these afflictions with meekness and patience and gave you an example of patience for your life. Thus by considering all the other aspects pertaining to the archetypal image of God and by adorning oneself according to its splendid form, the invisible God's image is expressed through patience.

[M.273] He who teaches Christ as the head of the Church (Eph 5.23) holds this above everything else: the entire head has

[J.198] the same nature and substance as the body under subjection, and the individual members as a whole partake of a single unity effecting a cooperation among the limbs with one accord in every activity. If anything is external to the body, it indeed does not belong to the head. Therefore we taught that the head has the same nature as each member in order that each one may be properly conformed to the head. But we are the limbs which contribute to Christ's body. If then anyone who has become a limb of Christ does evil (1 Cor 6.15) by taking up the sword of unbridled rage, he indeed has severed the limb from its head by this wicked passion. Thus the remaining organs of evil become swords by which limbs are severed from the body's unity, and all the limbs are severed from the head as if passions had made the cut.

[J.199] In order that the entire body might have the same nature, it befits each limb to be properly united to the head; if we consider the head to be pure by reason of its essence, the limbs indeed must be made pure under such a head. If we understand the head as incorrupt, the limbs are necessarily incorrupt. As for the other notions we consider with regard to the head, it follows that they are likewise perceived in the limbs: peace, purity, truth, and so forth. By this example, these and similar elements manifested in the limbs show an affinity with the head. The Apostle thus says that Christ is the head from whom the entire body is fit together and connected by the provision of every joint according to its operation which makes the body grow in the due proportion of each of its parts (Eph 4.16). We ought to learn by the term "head" that with regard to animals, it is similarly the principle for their bodies' actions, for the movement and action through their feet and limbs is respectively effected by the eye and ear. Neither does the eye know its actions nor does the ear obtain guidance as it ought when things are brought to its attention: it is thus necessary for every impulse and action of our bodies to be appropriately moved in accord with the true head to wherever he who formed the eye or planted the ear directs it (Ps 93.9). When the head looks above, the limbs indeed ought to be united under the head's direction and have their impulse to on high.

[J.200] Whenever we hear Christ called the "first-born of creation" (Col 1.15), the "first-born from the dead"

(Col 1.18), and “first-born among many brothers” (Rom 8.29), we should first refute any heretical opinions so that they may have no excuse for evil by their fabrications of doctrine from Paul’s words. Next, let us consider what is conducive to our ethical life by these words. Since heretics maintain that the Only-Begotten God, the creator of the universe from whom, through whom, and in whom are all things (Rom 11.36), is a work of God as well as a creature and something made, they therefore define the first-born of all creation as the brother of creation preceding his elders in time as in the case of Reuben with his brothers (Gen 29.32): he was not predetermined by nature but preceeded his elders in time. First, it must be said against the heretics that they do not believe Christ to be the only-begotten and first-born, for neither is the only-begotten understood as having brothers, nor does the first-born lack brothers. However, if Christ is the only-begotten, he does not have brothers; if he is the first-begotten of his brothers, neither is he the only-begotten, nor can this be said of him.

Since these names are incompatible and have nothing in common with each other as pertaining to Christ, it is impossible to call him the two names, that is, the only-begotten and first-born. But scripture, speaking of the Word existing in the beginning, says that he is the only-begotten of God, and again from Paul that he is the first-born of all creation (Col 1.15). Thus it behooves us to attribute to the judgment of truth each of these names for making an accurate distinction so that we may understand the only-begotten as the Word existing before the ages; however, all creation was made in Christ, the Word who became the first-born by his incarnation. If this is our understanding of Christ, namely, the first-born from the dead and first-born among many brothers, we will, as a result understand that he is the first-born of creation.

Therefore, Christ is the first-born from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep (1 Cor 15.20) for the purpose of bringing about a resurrection for all flesh. When we who were first children of wrath (Eph 2.3) were about to be made sons of day and sons of light (1 Th 5.5) by a rebirth from above through water and the Spirit (Jn 3.3-5), Christ became our guide to such a birth in the Jordan River. He brought the Spirit’s grace upon the first

fruits of our nature so that all those born into life from a spiritual rebirth might bear the name of "brothers of the first-born" through water and the Spirit. We do not overstep the bounds of reverent opinion by understanding in this way the first-born of creation begotten in Christ. Since the old creation has passed away as having been rendered useless through sin (2 Cor 5.17), the new creation of life constituted by a rebirth and resurrection from the dead necessarily succeeded the passing away of those things which had been destroyed. The leader and author of this new creation is the first-born of creation and bears this title. But we must briefly respond to our adversaries that the truth may be adequately defended against persons desirous of causing trouble.

- [J.203] In order to clarify these words contributing to a virtuous life, we will now briefly explain them. Reuben was the first-born of the brothers born after him (Gen 29.32) through his birth, but he testified to his kinship for those born after him and was indeed a clear sign to his status of first-born
- [M.277] so that knowledge of his brethren is testified by a similarity of (bodily) form. If we have become brothers of the Lord who became for us the first-born among many brothers through a similar rebirth by water and the Spirit, we should as a result manifest by certain characteristics in our lives a close relationship to him, the first-born of creation, who was conformed to our life. What characteristics of that form have we learned from scripture? We have often said that, "He committed no sin, nor was deceit found in his mouth" (1 Pet 2.22). Therefore, if we are to be named brothers of him who brought us into birth, innocence of life will be believed to constitute our relationship to him provided that nothing unclean separates us from a union in purity. However, the first-born is justice, holiness, love, redemption, and so forth. If our life is characterized by these elements, we will manifest
- [J.204] the brilliant marks of our nobility so that they may appear in our life as witnesses of our being Christ's brothers. He is the one who opened the door to our resurrection, and because of this, he has become the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. Because all of us will rise in a twinkling of an eye at the last trumpet blast (1 Cor 15.52), Christ showed the resurrection in himself and then in other persons under death's sway.

[J.205] Not everyone rising from the earth's sepulchre will afterwards receive the same state of life, but Christ says, "Those who have done good will come forth to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil, to the resurrection of judgement" (Jn 5.29). If a person regarding that formidable judgement bears false witness to Christ's name—even if he happens to be counted among the Lord's brothers by a birth from above—he has denied his close relationship with the first-born by assuming an evil form. However, the mediator of God and man (1 Tim 2.5) who joined the human race to God through his own person, brings into union with God only that person who is worthy. Therefore, as Christ united man to himself by the power of his divinity, he became a part of our common nature not subject to nature's passions which excite us to sin (for it says, "He committed no sin, nor was deceit found in his mouth"). Christ will bring each person to union with his divinity, provided that they have nothing unworthy of their union with God. But if anyone is truly a temple of God (1 Cor 3.16) and has no idol nor image of evil in himself, he will be admitted to partake of the divinity by the mediator after having become pure to receive his purity (Wisd 1.4). Wisdom will not enter a wicked soul as scripture says (Mt 5.8), nor will the pure in heart see in himself anything other than God; by clinging to him through incorruptibility, this person has received within himself every good kingdom.

[M.280] What has been said might become clear to us if we include the interpretation of the Lord's words which he spoke through Mary to the Apostles: "I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and to your God" (Jn 20.17). The mediator between the Father and those who have lost their inheritance (Jas 4.4) speaks these words; he reconciled through his own person God's enemies to the true, sole divinity. Since, according to the prophetic word (Ps 57.4), men were alienated through sin from the the life-giving womb and wandered from this womb in which they have been formed, they speak lies instead of the truth. Because Christ received the first fruits of our common nature through his soul and body, he made it holy and kept it in himself as unmixed and uncontaminated with any evil in order that by offering (the first fruits of our common nature) through incorruptibility to the Father of

[J.206]

incorruptibility, he might draw through it all those of the same kin and race (Eph 1.5) and adopt the disinherited and God's enemies for sharing his divinity. Therefore, just as the dough's first fruit was united with the true Father and God through purity and detachment, we, the mass of dough, should cling by similar means to the Father of incorruptibility by imitation of the mediator's detachment and immutability as far as it is possible. Thus we will be the crown of the Only-Begotten God made from precious stones, having become his honor and glory through our lives. Paul says that "You have made him a little less than the angels" (Heb 2.7-9) through death's sufferings. After having first transformed those of a thorny nature resulting from sin, Christ fashioned a crown for himself through the dispensation of his death, having changed the thorn into honor and glory by his suffering. Once Christ bore the world's sin and received on his head a crown woven from thorns in order to make a crown from honor and glory, there is no small danger of finding a burr and thorn resulting from an evil life which was then inserted in the Lord's crown by union with his body. The righteous voice thus says, "How did you get in here without a wedding garment" (Mt 22.12)? How were you, a thorn, woven with those fixed to my crown through honor and glory? "What accord has Christ with Belial? What has a believer in common with an unbeliever? What fellowship has light with darkness" (2 Cor 6.15)? That these words might not rebuke us, we must be attentive for warding off every thorny deed, word, and thought from our lives. Then we might crown the head of the universe as the Lord's valuable possession by having our honor and glory through a pure, detached way of living, for the Lord of glory allows nothing dishonorable to belong to his glory (1 Cor 2.8). Thus the person who does not accept anything unseemly and abominable both interiorly and exteriorly, sets the Lord of glory over himself—not dishonor—for he is the Lord both in substance and in name.

[J.207]

Christ is the beginning of every creature and is associated with those beings which come from him (Col 1.18). If life is defined as the beginning, it is understood as coming after the beginning; if light is the beginning, it too comes after the beginning. What profit then is there for us to believe Christ as the beginning? He indeed is our beginning as we

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have believed. Light is not named the beginning of darkness, nor have we understood that death existed with the beginning when life had been constituted in the beginning. But if anyone similar in nature as his guide has not been joined through detachment and virtue to the beginning, his beginning would be other than the one of all things. The principle of a dark life (Eph 6.12) is the ruler of the world of darkness, who has the power of death, fatal sin. Thus the beginning who called himself the principle of every good is not under the realm of darkness by a wicked manner of life: those persons who correctly understand the divine names calls Christ “king of justice” and “king of peace” (Heb 7.2). For Paul implores the kingdom of God to come upon him according to the discipline of prayer, teaching us that the king of justice and of peace is the true king who will indeed establish justice and peace in his own life, so that the king of justice and of peace might reign there.

[J.209]

Each virtue is therefore understood to constitute the king’s army, for I think we should understand all the virtues by means of justice and peace. If a deserter from God’s army has found himself on the enemy’s side, he has become a soldier of the inventor of wickedness, having rejected the breastplate of justice and the armor of peace. How is such a person established under the kingdom of peace after casting off the shield of truth? It is clear that the armament’s insignia will manifest his ruler instead of showing his leader in the characteristics of one’s life since his image has been overshadowed by arms. How blessed is that man, who is enrolled in the order of those countless thousands and who in God’s army, is armed against evil by the virtues which show the king’s image when he is clothed by them!

[J.210]

What necessity is there for further words which signify Christ’s name, presenting in the order of their examination all the terms by which it is possible to lead a life according to virtue since each name indeed brings us to the perfection of our life by its own particular manifestation? But I say our recollection of these names is well summed up to help us achieve the goal we have sought to establish from the outset, namely, how a person might accomplish perfection in himself. To me, if one always considers that he participates in this adorable name by bearing the name

Christian after the Apostles' teaching (Acts 11.26), he will necessarily show the power of the other names by which Christ is understood since he participates in each of them by his life.

- [M.284] I say that three elements mark a Christian's life: deed, word, and thought. First among these is thought. Reason is the beginning of every thought; after it comes speech which reveals the mind of one's soul by words. Action is third in order after thought and word, bringing thought to realization. Therefore, when the course of our life is moved by one of these, it indeed has divine insights regarding every word, deed, and consideration by which Christ is understood and named. It does us well to be carefully attentive so that our thoughts, words, and deeds do not lie themselves outside the realm of these lofty names. For Paul says that everything not proceeding from faith is sin (Rom 14.23), and as a result he clearly states that every word, deed or thought which does not look to Christ is indeed contrary to him, for whatever does not partake of light nor life shares in darkness or death. If anything not effected, spoken, and thought according to Christ is contrary to the good, that which is manifested through these three elements would be clear to all: whoever separates himself from Christ does not belong to him, whether in thought, deed, or in speech. Therefore, the prophet's divine voice says, "I have reckoned all the sinners of the earth as transgressors" (Ps 118.119). He who denies Christ in persecutions is a transgressor of Christ's rightful name. Therefore, if anyone denies truth, justice, sanctity, incorruptibility, or anything else understood in accord with virtue, he rejects life when it is time to surmount his passions and is called a transgressor by the prophet by reason of these violations against life.
- [J.211]

- What then should the person worthy of Christ's great name do? What is there to do except to always discern one's thoughts, words, and deeds, and to see whether or not each of them is of Christ or is alien to him? Much skill is needed to discern these things. Anything effected, thought, or said through passion has no association with Christ but bears the adversary's mark: smearing the soul's pearl with passion as if with mud, it corrupts the brightness of the precious stone. But a state free from every passion looks to the author of detachment, Christ. He who draws
- [J.212]

to himself thoughts as from a pure, incorruptible fountain will show such a likeness to the prototype as water drawn into a jar has to water gushing from a fountain. There is one pure nature in Christ, and it is the same in the person participating in it. However, one springs up while the other being a part of it, is drawn from the fountain and brings beauty to his life in thoughts. As a result, the hidden man conforms with the manifest, when life concurs and is conformed to thoughts activated according to Christ.

[M.285]

This, therefore, in my judgement is the perfection of the Christian life: the name of Christ which points out all his other names shares in our soul, words, and life's activities so that the holiness praised by Paul (1 Th 5.23) may be constantly kept in the entire body, mind, and spirit with no mixture of evil. If anyone says that the good is difficult to attain—for the Lord of creation is alone immutable while human nature is mutable and inclined to change—how then can what is fixed and stable in the good be realized in a mutable nature? I respond to this by saying that a person who does not lawfully strive in a contest cannot be crowned (1 Tim 2.5); he would not be a legitimate athlete if an opponent were lacking. Without an opponent neither is there a crown, for there is no victory against oneself if there is no weakness. Hence, let us struggle against the very changeableness of our nature as though with some adversary, wrestling by our reason, becoming victors not by casting it down but by not concurring in the fall. For man has a change not only for evil, for if he had a natural inclination only to evil, it would be impossible for him to turn to the good. Now the most beautiful effect of change is growth in the good since a change to things more divine is always remaking the man being changed for the better. Therefore, what seems fearful (I mean our mutable nature) can serve as a wing for flight to better things, since it is to our disgrace if we cannot change for the better. Therefore, let not a person be grieved by the fact that his nature is mutable; rather, by always being changed to what is better and by being transformed from glory to glory (2 Cor 3.18), let him so be changed: by daily growth he always becomes better and is always being perfected yet never attains perfection's goal. For perfection truly consists in never stopping our increase towards the better nor to limit perfection with any boundary.

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Saint Markos the Evgenikos and the Union of the Churches. By Nicholas P. Vasileiadis. Third edition, 1983. Athens: Brotherhood of Theologians, The Savior. Pp. 288.

Saint Mark of Ephesos has been the subject of many studies because of his unique role before, during, and after the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439). With the increasing interest in improving the relations between the Roman Catholics and the Eastern Orthodox and in view of the current "ecumenical movement" the study of Saint Mark has been found useful in providing important insights for Christianity's current problems and issues. It is indeed for these reasons that the scholar and reader in general will find the treatise of Vasileiadis most informative and useful.

This is a well-written and timely book. It deals with Saint Mark of Ephesos and his participation in the Council of Ferrara-Florence. The author has published several scholarly works and is a well-known writer. He used a wide variety of sources—eastern and western—critically.

The role of Saint Mark is evaluated as that of a wise and most conscientious Orthodox Christian who stood firmly behind the traditional Orthodox position, and in spite of all efforts made to intimidate him or force him to compromise, he gave a fine account of himself as an honest, intelligent, learned, and firm negotiator. Saint Mark strongly believed that in matters of faith there was no middle ground or compromise.

For his magnificent role at the council, Saint Mark gained the respect and admiration of the Emperor John VIII Paleologos, his chief adversaries, and, above all, the abiding respect and devotion of the whole Orthodox East.

Vasileiadis believes that the very convocation of the Council of Ferrara-Florence was a bad blunder on the part of the East, and senses that the present preoccupation in ecumenism and the dialogue between Orthodox and Roman Catholics are bound to fail as did the council of the fifteenth century. Vasileiadis finds much fault with the Byzantine Emperor for urging the convocation of the council. Emperor John VIII was too eager to agree to a meeting with the West without assessing the matter carefully. The Emperor was chiefly interested with the saving of his Empire in the face of Turkish danger. He did not perceive the dangers of a church blunder and the prospect of an internal division and dissension in the state at the most critical moment.

Vasileiadis concludes in his book, using it as a sort of case-work, that attempts for a church reunion, based on opportunism or political or other such considerations is bound to fail. Saint Mark put the matter of church unity in a most clear and accurate way: Abide by the

decisions of the Seven Ecumenical Synods, the Fathers, and Holy Tradition. Do not deviate in the least or innovate.

Vasileiadis views the papal desire for a reunion of Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians in the fifteenth century and now as having as its real objective the subjugation of the Orthodox East. He sees no genuine Christian love but opportunism on the part of the bishop of Rome. The papal claims to primacy and infallibility and the insistence on the use of the "filioque" in the Creed are seen as insurmountable obstacles to any genuine dialogue for the improvement of relations between East and West.

In conclusion, I would like to add that the book is well printed and provided with several fine illustrations.

John Cavarinos
Professor of History, Emeritus

Credo in Spiritum Sanctum. Atti del Congresso Teologico Internazionale di Pneumatologia. Edited by R. P. Jose Saraiva Martins. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983. Pp. 1570. Cloth, \$68.75.

This important book is a record of an international congress on pneumatology held in Rome in 1983. The size of the volume (1570 pp.) and the multilingual character of the text (French, German, Italian, English and Spanish) will make it useful only for the most technical library. However, the fact that John Paul II rose from his sickbed to attend this congress and the proclamation of the creed of 381 in its ancient and unaltered form as well as the seriousness and quality of the papers make it an invaluable resource to the pneumatological, historical and ecumenical scholar.

The papers of the Congress are divided into five sections with fifteen to twenty essays in each section. The sections are: the pneumatology of the Synod of Constantinople I and its soteriological and theological questions, the discussion of the Holy Spirit according to the churches of the East and the West, biblical pneumatology, the Holy Spirit and the reflections of the Church today, and the Holy Spirit and the unity of the Church in the renewal of the world. Cardinal Ratzinger presided and Roman Catholic scholars predominate, but the presence of such important authors as Zizioulas, Khodr, Staniloae, Trakatellis, and serious Protestant scholars lend an ecumenical seriousness to the volume which carry it beyond the context in which it was generated.

This congress on Catholic soil has called for a serious reevaluation of the position of the West on pneumatology since the middle ages.

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which is, I think, immeasurably more significant: This "Pentzikis" raises the essential question of Greek cultural authenticity and autonomy; the matter of the uninterrupted continuity of the Greek identity; and the quest for its spiritual survival. The book, therefore, poses a most telling challenge to modern Greek intellectuals, at a time when the very fibre of the Greek cultural and spiritual identity is tested by iconoclastic platitudes, motivated by and serving political expediencies. This book is, undoubtedly, one of many contributions of the Greek diaspora to the modern Greek intellectual and spiritual renaissance.

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Scholars of Byzantium. By N. G. Wilson. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983. Pp. x + 283. \$27.50, cloth.

This most welcome volume should interest students and scholars of both ancient and medieval Hellenism, for its study of literature, history of education, book making, language script, and school curricula. It successfully synthesizes the efforts of Byzantine educated persons, who labored to preserve the texts of ancient Greece (archaic, classical, Hellenistic and Roman), apply to them methods of scholarship, and adopt them in the educational system of their own times.

Notwithstanding its economy in footnotes and bibliographical references ("an academic habit greatly overvalued"), the book includes an enormous amount of authentic scholarship. In thirteen comprehensive and tightly woven chapters, the author discusses the literary culture of Byzantium, its language, the place of ancient authors in its schools and Christian reactions to them; censorship ("rarely if ever existed"); its concern with the authenticity of texts, and other topics related to the fate of Greek literature from the end of the ancient world until its reappearance in Western Europe during the Renaissance.

Following a survey of the nature and the importance of several leading centers of learning during the proto-Byzantine period, such as Alexandria, Antioch, Athens, Constantinople, Gaza, the author devotes an illuminating chapter on the so-called "Dark Ages" identified with the period between the death of Heraklios (641) and the early ninth century. He demonstrates that those were not uneventful years for the history of classical literature, even though he agrees that the iconoclastic period was a setback. But his account of the process of transmission, the evolution and the types of script, the emergence of the minuscule and little-known writers such as George Choïroboskos makes the

chapter a fascinating, if not original, contribution.

Wilson provides extensive proof of the vigor of Greek literature and culture, not only within the geographical boundaries of eighth and early ninth-century Byzantium, but even "in the most far-flung areas of the Byzantine world, such as Edessa in Mesopotamia."

The study of the classics became more widespread and intensive after the beginning of the ninth century and continued unabatedly down to the collapse of the Empire. The most important period of classical studies in Byzantium was introduced by Leo the Philosopher and Mathematician (c. 790-869). But no other scholar is treated as extensively as the celebrated Patriarch Photios (c. 810-893). Several other scholars, including Arethas of Caesarea, John Mauropous, John Italos, Michael Psellos, Anna Komnene, Eustathios of Thessalonike, Michael Choniates, Gregory of Corinth, Maximos Planoudes, Demetrios Triklinios and Theodore Metochites, receive their due, some of whom may have been Photios' equals or even superiors in various branches of scholarship. But Photios is considered as "probably . . . the most important figure in the history of classical studies in Byzantium" because he had read more ancient literature than anyone else either before or after him during the Byzantine era.

This enjoyable study is not free from controversial issues, and some of its assumptions may be challenged by experts. For example, Wilson's statement that Photios "is famous as *the man* (italics mine) who widened the gulf between the Greek and Roman churches . . ." (p. 88) will find many objections. Some, including church historians of the Roman Catholic tradition, hold Pope Nicholas I, if not more, at least equally, responsible for the gulf between the two worlds of Christendom. Photios' reputation has long been rehabilitated by no less of an authority than the late Father Francis Dvornik.

But points of scholarly disagreement in no way diminish the significance of the present book for an understanding of the literary culture of medieval Hellenism. Powerful evidence emerging from this volume confirms the continuity in the intellectual and literary tradition between ancient and medieval Hellenism. Furthermore, it reveals that mainstream Byzantine Christianity did not destroy the classical heritage because it did not find it antithetical to its principles and values. The fact that classical literature served as the basis of Byzantine education, and that some of its leading protagonists were churchmen, indicates the tolerant character of the Byzantine Church which "rarely if ever" resorted to censorship.

Byzantium's contributions to the preservation, transmission and even cultivation of classical literature (literary, historical, philosophical, scientific), and the conditions in which Byzantine scholars worked,

prompt Wilson to conclude with an appeal for "a more charitable verdict" on them than the one pronounced by Edward Gibbon and his followers.

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The Mystery of Fidelity. By Joseph J. Allen. Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. Pp. 121 + 22 Plates. \$6.95, paperbound.

We all know what it is to say: seeing is believing. From the youngest and least mature among us, to our brightest and most advanced, we have all felt the strange impact and undeniable power which this idea has on our thinking and daily living. Toddlers and young children seem almost driven to see and touch and find out for themselves, and research scientists will not accept results which cannot be repeated and verified by others.

Despite its enormous appeal to our reason and its virtual control over our sense of reality, however, "seeing is believing" also happens to be the direct antithesis of faith. The definition of faith, indeed the standard by which our faith as Orthodox Christians is to be measured, was very clearly and succinctly described by our Lord himself when he said: ". . . Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed" (Jn 21.29).

If something which is so basic to our thinking is an obstacle to our being able to believe without seeing, how can we ever acquire faith? What can we do to project ourselves beyond the limitations of our human nature to develop and nurture the faith required of us?

The Mystery of Fidelity, by Joseph J. Allen, shows us a way to find the answer to these crucial questions. Of course, this "answer" is not the kind of quick and easy solution we have learned to expect, and it may even feel unacceptable to our western, "fast-food," immediate gratification mentality. Nevertheless, in this brief work of 121 pages, the author—known officially as the Very Reverend Joseph J. Allen—has provided us with a living, breathing example of how we can cut through to the heart of this most profound of theological problems, and he has done so without preaching to us or assailing us with theological arguments.

In *The Mystery of Fidelity*, Father Allen takes us with him on his own journey to explore the mystery of fidelity, and as we follow him each and every step of the way, he describes for us what he is seeing and feeling, and thereby learning, about faith. As we examine each of

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Reviews

Scripture and Tradition. By Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Etna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1984. Pp. 90. Paperbound.

This is another in the growing number of publications from the Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, a publication effort sponsored by the St. Gregory Palamas Monastery in Etna, California. The author is abbot of the monastery and director of the Center. The book is co-authored with Hieromonk Auxentios, a brother of the monastery and editor of the Center's popular journal, *Orthodox Tradition*.

In this short and erudite volume, the authors describe western and Orthodox views of the sources of authority in the Christian Church. The book begins with a very readable historical outline of the sources of canonical Scripture—both New and Old Testamental. There is an intentional concentration on the pronouncements of the early church Fathers and the early church synods, followed by a survey of Roman Catholic and Protestant opinions on the subject.

For the early church Fathers, Scripture and Tradition appear to have equal authority. We are introduced to a very important Orthodox concept, the consensus of the Fathers, which is revealed through Scripture and Tradition alike. Indeed, "Orthodox Tradition draws on the *consistent*, God-inspired witness of the Fathers in order to formulate any theological position." It is through the Patristic witness, the authors point out, that the Orthodox Church forms her perspective for understanding the very authority of Scripture and Tradition. The authors amply demonstrate this by citations from both eastern and western Fathers.

The book continues by giving a synopsis of Roman Catholic and Protestant views on Scripture and Tradition, then contrasting these in a very thorough and logical way, free of polemical language or jibes, with the Orthodox view. The authors point out that both the Protestant and Roman Catholic views of these subjects are born of artificial dilemmas and unnecessary tensions, both great Christian traditions failing to understand the basic unity of Scripture and Tradition which the Orthodox posit. Scripture and Tradition are, for the Orthodox, a single,

whole witness. There is neither a teaching *magisterium* above them (as is the case with papal authority of the Latin Church), nor can the two aspects of authority ever constitute, ultimately, anything but a single source of authority—as in Protestantism, where these two aspects become two separate sources of authority, one competing against the other for ascendancy.

Next, the authors survey the views of modern Orthodox theologians on Scripture and Tradition, concluding that the late Father Georges Florovsky, their mentor and spiritual friend at Princeton, most closely followed the genuine Patristic view of Scripture and Tradition in his theology—a compliment returned to the authors in Father Florovsky's words of praise for their own Patristic thought. Instead of offering a theologically speculative explication of the unity of these two important elements in Church authority, they argue, Father Florovsky treats this unity as needing no justification and is thus able to focus on the "mind" of the Fathers as the universal "mind" of the Church. Tradition and Scripture, for Florovsky, are related to one another in the sense of one aspect of the Church recognizing another aspect of the Church, with their joint authority and truth embodied within the Church—something clearly representative of the Patristic consensus.

Lastly, the authors encourage us towards a spiritual apprehension of the unity between Scripture and Tradition through our own spiritual link with the Fathers: the noetic mind. The "mind" of the Fathers, the "mind" of the Church, is part of the Mystical Body of Christ. From this perspective, Tradition not only makes truth self-evident, but also serves to generate the same self-evident truth: "To follow the Fathers is to attain their spiritual vision through *theosis* and to know the crucial, veritable elements of revelation from Tradition and Scripture." "The Fathers are regarded as authorities because Christ has come to live in them, to transform them." Thus, in perpetuating Church custom, we do not adhere blindly to what is ancient, but live and repeat the behaviors of the Fathers, taking on the tradition of their perception, which is *vision in Christ*.

The authors deserve our thanks for a clear and succinct presentation of a difficult and complex topic. This book will be received as a significant contribution to our understanding of these essential elements of Orthodox theology—Scripture and Tradition—and will prove a valuable and inexpensive supplement in any Biblical theology course.

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SHARED CHRISTIAN PRAXIS: APPROACHING THE ORTHODOX FUNERAL SERVICE

Frank Marangos

*"Faith is to die for Christ's sake,
for his commandments; and to regard
such death as leading to life."*

Saint Symeon the New Theologian

IN HIS RECENT WORK entitled, *Christian Religious Education*,¹ Thomas H. Groome presents an educational approach which deserves a great deal of attention. Rooted in Scripture, essentially in the post-Resurrectional event of Emmaus (Lk 24.13-35), wherein Jesus unrecognized by his disciples discloses his truth, Groome constructs a pedagogical process which he calls "shared Christian praxis." While the author does not spend a great deal of effort applying this process to community worship, particular discussion must be made in this realm. In this short paper, I will attempt to apply the "shared Christian praxis" approach to the Orthodox funeral service.

Having participated in this liturgical service, both as a layperson as well as a priest, the question which arises is whether or not the service adequately administers to the bereaved. My examination of the service's pedagogy will to some degree determine my response to this question. It is important to realize from the onset that shared Christian praxis is not stagal, but rather centrifugal in process. All of its components are interwoven and at best observed as they work in and among themselves. Individually, each component must be understood as part of a whole and should never be considered in and of itself. Ranging over a wide variety of theologians and religious educators in pursuit

¹ (San Francisco, 1980).

of the nature and purpose of his subject, the author concludes that the purpose is "to sponsor people toward maturity in Christian faith as a lived reality." Such a purpose can be achieved, according to Groome, only in the context of a Christian faith community, but that community, he insists, needs a "critical educational activity." Christian religious education, in other words, is more than a process of socialization leading people to accept reality as it is socially mediated; it is a process of consciousness-raising that leads them to shape history in the direction of the Kingdom of God.

For reasons of clarity and discussion, the process can be understood through five components. Participants are invited to indicate their present response to the topic of attention; to reflect critically on their response; to encounter the faith tradition of the Christian community concerning the topic of attention and the lived response it invites from them (the "Story and Vision" of the subtitle); to compare critically the faith tradition with their own lived experiences; and to choose a personal faith response for the future. I presuppose that the reader has a working knowledge of "shared Christian praxis" and, as such, I will refrain from any elaborate explanation of each component. Attention will focus, therefore, only on the application of these components to the subject at hand.

My purpose will be: 1) to outline the service's pedagogical process based on shared Christian praxis; 2) to discuss the liturgical and educational relationship of the same; and 3) to offer suggestions as to how the service can best be utilized in Orthodox communities.

Present Action

The setting for the main rite of an Orthodox funeral service is a church edifice wherein relatives and friends of the deceased gather to commit their loved one to burial. This "present action" includes a socio-cultural context of a Hellenic subculture in which, and through which, Orthodox liturgical worship has emerged, as well as the embodied ideology of the present American society in which the service is held. In other words, the participating Greek Orthodox worshiper "carries" with him a conscious, as well as unconscious, mixture of traditions, laws, norms, and expectations of these two cultural traditions. While overt lamentation, for example, is a normal occurrence in European Orthodox countries, by our American standards, this type of "outer" mourning has been considered up to this time by many as embarrassing and unsophisticated behavior. This "present action" identity which is embodied, of course, in different degrees in each Orthodox Christian in attendance, will in large determine the extent of pedagogical penetration.

As we shall see, the pedagogy of the service attempts to shape a

new "present action" in each worshiper by presenting its content at various "entrance points" or "points of contact" where the crisis of death has created problems to solve, or where individuals are experiencing anxiety or pain. While these "points of contact" are likewise areas of greatest resistance to educational penetration, the service proceeds cautiously. Moving from the obvious to the not so obvious, from what is "known" to what can be "discovered" about death, the service's hymns and prayers confront the common "present action" of all worshipers; that is, the death of a loved one, relative or friend. In so doing, the service provides the needed stimulus to create a new "present action" for each individual. In short, the "present action" of each worshiper, that is, his past, present and future identity, will affect and be affected by the worship service he is in attendance.

Critical Reflection

The hymns which compose a major portion of the Orthodox funeral service contain examples of what Groome calls the second component of shared Christian praxis, namely, "critical reflection." This, in turn, must be understood to include "critical reason," "critical memory," and "critical imagination." Examples in the Orthodox funeral service of "critical reason," that is, that which one perceives as obvious about the present situation, are numerous:

When death comes, all things are vanished away . . .

Terror truly past compare is by the mystery of death inspired . . .

Darkness is his (her) dwelling place . . .

I weep and with tears lament when with understanding I think on death and see how in the graves there sleeps the beauty which once for us was fashioned in the image of God, but now is shapeless, ignoble and bare of all graces . . .

Like a blossom that wastes away and like a dream that passes and is gone, so is every mortal into dust resolved . . .

What agony the soul endures when from the body it is parted . . .²

As one can see, the Orthodox funeral service does not avoid the obvious sorrow and ugliness of death. The hymnological thrust for

²N. M. Vaporis, ed., *An Orthodox Prayer Book*, trans. John von Holzhausen and Michael Gelsinger (Brookline, 1977), pp. 97-118.

understanding springboards from what is obvious. The hymns openly present man's pessimistic attitude as he hopelessly perceives his earthly situation:

. . . unto angels she (the soul) turns with downcast eyes, useless are her supplications; and unto men she extends her imploring hand but finds no one to bring her rescue.

I look with attention on the tombs and I saw the bones therein which of flesh were naked; and I said which is the king and which the soldier, which the wealthy, which the needy, which the righteous and which the sinner.

At this point, the service takes on a dialogical character with its participants. Asking obvious questions which have been observed throughout the ages, the service attempts to "connect" (dialogue) with its participants by breaking through each individual's "present action."

. . . what then is this mystery which concerns us humans?

. . . why are we given up to decay?

. . . why to death united in wedlock?

At a deeper level, "critical reflection" produces "critical memory"; that is, the individual is consciously and unconsciously persuaded to reflect on his "present action" in light of his past which has, as we have seen, produced his "critical present action." "Critical memory," therefore, develops the pedagogical process of the service. It fills an individual in much the same way as water fills a leaky bucket, searching for the openings, the opportunities to "recreate" a new "present action." A mourning relative, for example, is by the repetition of the phrase, "Everlasting be your memory (deceased)" challenged to redefine his "present action" based on his close association with the deceased. Perhaps espousing a similar lifestyle or, for that matter, a profoundly dissimilar lifestyle with the one who has "fallen asleep," the hymns and prayers of the service often written in the first person create a climate of self-reexamination:

. . . Image am I of Your unutterable glory, though I bear the scars of my stumblings . . .

. . . The sheep that was lost am I; call me up to You, O Savior, and save me.

. . . Shine Your Light on us who with faith adore You; and from the fire eternal rescue us.

Unable to determine his or her death through earthly monetary prestige, power or station, the service affords the worshiper a humbling experience, challenging the individual as well as the social community culture of a given Greek Orthodox parish.

Where is now our affection for earthly things? . . . Where is now our gold and our silver? Where is now the alluring pomp of transient question? All is dust, all is ashes, all is shadow . . .

Vanity are all the works and quests of man, they have no being after death has come . . . our wealth is with us no longer . . .

The emphasis of the hymns upon the destruction of the bodily "vessel," and upon the plight of the soul, as well as the visual "dramatics" provided by the service's rubrics, assists mourning Christians to reflect upon their own ultimate end and provides the opportunity for recommitment, introspection and impetus for growth.

The use of the term "critical imagination" is here inappropriate for me. Orthodox patristic spirituality warns against the use of imagination as an "unprotected openness" of the self. Although Groome correctly warns against an incorrect understanding of his term as "idle wonderment about the future,"³ I will for the remainder of this short study refer to this component as "critical co-creating."

"Critical co-creating" is engraved upon the very fabric of the Orthodox funeral service. It is best understood here to be synonymous with the practice of "theosis," becoming "Godlike," which is both the "telos" as well as the "process" of Orthodox Christian life. My selection of the term "co-create" was determined by a theology which emphasizes man's horizontal as well as vertical responsibilities. Created by God in his image and likeness, man struggles in creation to become more like his Creator. Man "co-creates" a new "present" in his cooperation with the Divine. Here, in full agreement with Groome, hope "is the essential dimension of being human." This ongoing "critical co-creating" process of "knowing" (theosis), essential for every Orthodox Christian, demands growth in every level and at every moment of life. Eschatological hope, as we shall see, is both the present as well as the future thrust of the service. Any "knowing" in regards to the phenomenon of death must be understood in this "hope." As Groome points out, (imagination) "critical co-creating" must be encouraged in

³ Groome, p. 186.

order to promote education. Once again, the Orthodox funeral service fits the bill quite nicely in that rooted in the strain of a "now and not yet" parousia, the hymnology affords the opportunity for growth:

You who of old did fashion me out of nothingness and with Your Image Divine did honor me; but because of transgression of Your commandments did return me again to the earth where I was taken; lead me back to be refashioned into the ancient beauty of Your likeness.

. . . Cleanse me . . . and the homeland of my heart's desire bestow on me by making me a citizen of Paradise.

. . . the hour is coming, and now is, when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live.

Growth is ironically synonymous with being "led back." "Cleansing," hearing "understanding," saying "farewell" to the deceased, "comforting one another" are all examples of areas wherein the service educates. This process of "being led back to be refashioned" (theosis) in and of itself stresses growth; that is, the development of the spiritual as well as rational person, which are never at odds with each other but partners in this "critical co-creative" process.

A word about liturgical stagnation is perhaps appropriate at this time. While Scripture is divinely inspired, liturgical worship is not. Only where worship reflects divine truths are they infallible; that is, one should neither add nor subtract from their content. Worship, however, I believe should also come under the review of "critical reflection." In order for liturgical worship to achieve dialogue with its participants, it must, by nature, be allowed the freedom to develop. Liturgical worship must be open to the ongoing process of the Holy Spirit. While the freedom given to the celebrating priest to choose one of several Gospel passages to be read at Orthodox funerals underscores a healthy attitude of liturgical "critical reflection," more of this flexibility is needed.

All these components then, "critical reason," "critical memory," and "critical co-creativity," are inclusive concerns of the Orthodox funeral service. While the service does provide a distinctive function of each, a genuine separation is incorrect and at worse dangerous. "Critical reflection" is in all three stages both cognitive as well as affective. The hymnology, as well as the rubrics of the service, provide necessary "points of contact," to bolster this point. The tradition, for example, that the body of the deceased is washed and dressed by his/her relatives is a tremendous "point of contact" with death. The singing

of the Trisagion by the entire congregation as the body is lead into the Church where it will be placed on the solea is yet another affectional “contact point.” Finally, after the service has concluded, the laity is ushered forward to give the “departed” their “final kiss” (τελευταῖος ἄσπασμός). Symbolizing the Church militant’s farewell as one of its members crosses over into the ranks of the Church Triumphant, this emotional “contact point” is ritualized while the following hymn is chanted:

Look upon me as I lie here prone before you, voiceless and unbreathing, mourn for me, everyone—breathren, friends . . . yesterday with you I was talking, suddenly the fearful hour of death came upon me . . . kiss me with the last kiss of parting . . . no longer will I walk or talk with you . . .

Pray that repose may be granted him in that habitation where the Just repose courts of the righteous . . .

“Critical reflection” understood to mean the process of theosis is a dialectical critique which the service promotes, not only to challenge what is false and sinful, but what is also good and correct. Recognizing all human creativity as limited, “critical reflection” at all major points of the service attempts to thrust individual participants and entire communities beyond their present conduct, understanding, feeling, desires and relationships.

One quickly understands that “critical reflection” is not solely the result of man’s discernment. The repetition of various phrases and gestures throughout the service denote another example of the “co-creative” work of God and man. The small *ektenia* which petitions for “God’s mercy” and for the establishment of the “departed’s soul where the just repose” is offered numerous times throughout the service. At each occasion, the request is rooted in the salvific work of Christ.

For You are the Resurrection, the Life and the Repose of Your servant (name) . . .

“My soul shall live and praise You,” states one of the hymns, “and Your judgments will help me”; that is, man can live to praise his God as we have seen only through Divine assistance. Another example of the “co-creative” work of God and man is found in the following hymn:

Your hands have made and fashioned me; give me understanding and I will learn Your commandments . . .

Here once again we see a cooperation of the human with the Divine which is "taught" by the service as the only means of redemption. At times, Orthodox Christians respond by not responding. Still, other times, a humbling submission is made prior to cognitive understanding. At many stages of Christian life, faithfulness to His commandments and hope of eternal life are based on a "knowing" which may as yet not be articulated or totally discerned. Hence, quite often, a Christian's "critical present" is determined by a "critical reflection" which does not fully understand its "telos."

Dialogue

"Dialogue" according to Groome is the means by which "critical reflection" is shared within a pedagogical setting. In the Orthodox funeral service dialogical interaction between participating worshipers is achieved by the "confirming-confronting," "encouraging-correcting" quality of the hymns, prayers and partitions. Worshipers are free to "plug in," dialogue, wherever their "critical reflection" leads them. Here "dialogue" takes on ecclesiological character, strongly inviting and soliciting involvement. The degree of personal participation, "dialogue" with the service, will by nature affect and reflect community affection. "Dialogue" begins with self. Listening will be basic. It is imperative, therefore, that the entire worshipping body engage in this liturgical dialogue. The entire pedagogical activity of the service will depend on this. While the setting of the service is collective, "dialogue" will be determined by each worshiper's conscious, as well as unconscious, participation in the service's "critical process." "Dialogue" will, therefore, begin when an individual's "story" is called into question by the larger Christian "story."

. . . Incline my heart unto Your testimonies . . .

. . . I have inlined my heart to perform Your commandments,
forever, in return for Your mercies.

. . . It is time to serve the Lord, but they have violated Your law.

. . . Have mercy upon me, according to the judgment of them that
love Your Name . . .

Personally, I prefer to explain the service's dialogical style as a process of disclosure and discovery. "Dialogue" requires that the Christian "story" and its "vision" be made available in a disclosure rather than a closure fashion. Oftentimes within Orthodox communities, liturgical

services take on the unfortunate "closed" character due to their linguistic tenor. Although Greek is the original language of all our texts, the services should be held in the language understood by its worshippers. Liturgical aesthetics must at times be sacrificed in order to facilitate kerygmatic disclosure. "Unfortunately," writes James F. White, "many congregations identify worship with liturgical correctness or aesthetic purity and miss communicating anything other than a certain smug contentment."⁴ It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the worship service be offered in a way which will allow "dialogue" with its contents to take place.

As we have observed, Groome's "Shared Praxis" approach to education permeates the Orthodox funeral service. The third of his four requirements, however, for "dialogue" to take place is called into question. According to Paulo Freire from whom Groome selects much of his material, love and humility are necessary elements for "dialogue."⁵ From the standpoint, however, of Orthodox theology, as it is found in its funeral service, his notion of "intense faith in man, faith in his power to make and remake, to create and recreate" appears too humanistic. "Dialogue" according to the service's theology, is not so much a result of an intense faith in man but rather a consequence of man's intense faith in God, and a faithfulness to his commandments.

. . . Hear my voice, O Lord, according to Your mercy, according to Your Judgments enliven me.

. . . My soul shall live, and praise You and Your Judgments will help me.

Stressing "dialogue" at the human level, Groome at times jeopardizes the proper "attitude" in which a dialogue between God and man can take place. According to the scriptural content of the service, God's commandments are to be faithfully adhered to.

He who hears my word believes him who sent me has eternal life (Jn 5.24).

those who have done good, to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil, to the resurrection of judgment (Jn 5. 29).

In doing his commandments, the worshipping Christian is assured that he will be taught God's truth.

⁴ James F. White, "Liturgical Scholars: A New Outspokenness," *The Christian Century*, 4-11 February 1981, p. 104.

⁵ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York, 1970), pp. 76-77.

. . . Give me understanding and I will learn Your commandments.

. . . Strengthen me with Your words.

Having then learned his truth, the Christian will then be able to do what he was doing, that is, adhere to God's commandments more truthfully. While both Groome and Freire stress man's "seeking to be more fully human," the Orthodox funeral service challenges man to become more like the Divine. By adhering to God's commandments, man is given the opportunity to 1) "dialogue" with God, learn his truth, and as such become more Godlike; and 2) "dialogue" with his fellow man as a result of doing God's commandments (living Christianly).

Story

"Story," or what I would like to call "kerygma," is the essential backdrop of the service. Reflected in narrative, poetry and petitionary prayer, one discovers that the "story" is dependent on Scripture. By "story" Groome implies "the whole faith tradition of our people (Christian) however that is expressed and embodied."⁶ Our personal "story" is a result and a response to this greater "story." In the Orthodox funeral service, the telling of the "story" is of primary importance. Worship must and does embody reminders of God's saving deeds (Deu 26.5-11). Reminders of God's saving deeds are found throughout the Orthodox funeral service. It is this constant reiteration of certain phrases and actions which remind us of God's saving deeds, and "that gives worship an educational impact unequaled elsewhere in the Church's life."⁷ It is within this "story" that the departed's "story" as well as the worshipers' "stories" are redeemed. The "story" is crystalized in one of the hymns composed by Saint John of Damascus:

The death which You have endured, O Lord, has become the har-binger of deathliness; if You had not been laid in Your Tomb, the gates of Paradise would not have been opened; wherefore, to him (her) now gone from us give rest, for You are a Friend of Mankind.

The hymn reveals that salvation is accomplished through the saving "story" of Jesus Christ. This "story" is also that which "judges" our personal "story" in its process of redemption. Immediately after the hymn cited above is sung, the following "prokeimeion" is chanted three times:

⁶ Groome, p. 192.

⁷ White, p. 104.

Blessed is the way wherein you walk today, for there is prepared for you a place of rest.

The threefold repetition of this line, as well as its liturgical placement before the reading of the Epistle, emphasizes its importance. Salvation is not, it warns, a result of merely remembering, but rather, reencountering Jesus Christ. The service magnificently draws attention upon the earthly life of Jesus Christ culminating in his death upon the Cross in order to indoctrinate mourning Christians into the essentially sacramental nature of life. That although physical death is a moment in time, life is a dynamic process, a movement from incompleteness to completeness. That life is a daily dying, a daily participation in the victory of Jesus Christ. This participation takes place when the worshiper's "story" is called into a "confirming-confronting," "encouraging-correcting" "dialogue" with the "story." The offering of oneself unto God is emphasized in order to illustrate the redemptive characteristic of one's initial response, and the enumerable responses throughout earthly life when there is a "dying" to the "old nature" and a rising to the "newness" of life. This "daily walk," "drawing near," "way," "leading back to be refashioned" and "call" is synonymous in the service with doing God's commandments. This "critical co-creative" process is called redemption and is at the center of man's "knowing" of death. Death as the "call" of God indicates a vertical thrust in mankind's accountability and destiny in life.

Vision

Groome's final component for the process he calls "Shared Christian Praxis" is "vision." "Vision" can best be understood as "lived response which the Christian story invites and of the promise God makes in that story."⁸ Grounded in the Biblical notion of parousia, the funeral service invites its worshipers to respond to this "story" by becoming citizens in God's Kingdom as it unfolds in history. The notion of "rest" found at the heart of the Orthodox funeral service holds the key to its entire pedagogical aim. This can be seen from the following prayer:

O God of all spirits . . . Who did trod down death and overcome the Devil, bestowing life on this Your world, to the soul of this Your servant (say name) . . . give rest, in a place of light, in a place of green pasture, in a place of refreshment, from where pain and sorrow and mourning have fled away . . .

⁸ Groome, p. 193.

It is obvious that “rest” is symbolic of the provision of the promised land and conquest of enemies which the God of the Old Testament promised the Jews. While the Old Testament’s understanding of “rest” denotes a separation from hardship and affliction, the New Testamental theology of “rest” can be summed up in one word—discipleship. The notion of “rest” in the Orthodox funeral service is not invulnerability and calm of the Stoic but rather a security in God. God’s people of the New Covenant are exhorted by the funeral service to claim *now* the ancient promise of God’s “rest,” available to them in Jesus Christ. The laying hold of this “rest” is done in faith and hope by doing God’s commandments. Suffering, therefore, for the sake of Christ as a disciple under his “reign” is “restful.” “Suffering,” writes Peter, “is a sign that the Spirit rests upon the believers” (1 Pet 4.14). There are countless references to “rest” in Scripture that one can quote to bolster this point, however, the following passage from Isaiah is sufficient:

And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon his, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and fear of the Lord (Is 11.2).⁹

“Rest,” therefore, is not only the “homeland” to which the “departed” has hopefully gone to, but also the “homeland” for the living and worshipping community. The means by which we become citizens in this “homeland” is offered by the hymns of the funeral service as the doing of God’s commandments. The result of participating in the commandments is wisdom and understanding. Stressing the “now and not yet” character of the parousia, the hymns and prayers of the Orthodox funeral service keep its participants at the center of an orchestrated shared Christian praxis, which can be summed up by their ongoing faithfulness to God’s commandments. At best, worshipping Christians will remain in “praxis” even after the worshipping service has concluded. The entire shared Christian praxis of the Orthodox funeral service is summed up in discipleship.

⁹ See Is 42.1; 48. 16; 61.1; Mt 3.16; Jn 1.32; 16.13; 1 Cor 1.30; Eph 1.17; 2 Tim 1.7.

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The attempt of Dr. Sloyan to communicate the Christian understanding of Jesus for Jews and Muslims today is an important task. The fathers of the Church communicated the message of the gospels to the Hellenistic world and similarly today we are challenged to communicate the gospel to our contemporary world. Father Sloyan states that:

The Christian Church has much work undone that lies ahead. It must expound the mystery of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit in a way comprehensible to the Jew and the Muslim, neither of whom think like a Greek or Roman. It must do the same for persons of India, of China, of Japan, of black Africa. It is a task well worth doing if Jesus is the man the gospels show us and if the Spirit of God is experienced at work in the world; . . . the Christian Church may also expound the mystery of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit to the satisfaction of its own members'' (p. 187).

This task is a challenge to all Christians who thoughtfully communicate the gospel message today. Father Sloyan succeeds in a most dynamic and articulate way to present his topic, Jesus, with zeal and enthusiasm to non-Christians and Christians alike.

The author fulfills the purpose of the book by articulating the Christian faith for today's readers. Dr. Sloyan provides maps of Jerusalem and Palestine as well as a list of basic resources, an index, and citations of the Holy Scriptures useful to aid the reader. I highly recommend this book to those who seek a greater interfaith understanding and an introduction to the message and work of Jesus in the society in which he lived.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

St. John Chrysostom: A Scripture Index. By R. A. Krupp. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1984. Pp. xv + 253. \$24.75, cloth.

The present handbook was written to assist historians, librarians, scholars, and students in their study of Saint John Chrysostom. The work of the great fourth century Christian preacher and Bible commentator is still used by many Christian scholars regardless of their theological tradition or denomination.

The present work is a welcome addition to the greater understanding of the use of the Bible by this famous preacher. Those who do research

can appreciate this index because it will save long hours of research. Librarians especially will be grateful to the author for this very useful research tool.

In the preface the author provides directions on how to use the index. This index would have been of greater use to students, however, if it had brief explanations in each section on how Chrysostom used these passages of Scripture. Also the printing is very small and the letters are too close together. Otherwise, it is an excellent publication. I highly recommend it especially to students who study the writings of Saint John Chrysostom.

George C. Papademetriou
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

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present life (“Ἡ μέθεξις τοῦ Θεοῦ,” to quote the Greek version of *Partakers of God*). Indeed, just as there exists, for the Orthodox Fathers, no essential tension between the flesh and the spirit, when these are joined in symphonic harmony to the image of God in man, there is, at the same time, no metaphysical or existential tension between time and the eternal. Man, restored even in his fallen state to a harmonious relationship with God, comes into a harmonic relationship with eternity, experiencing in time that which is timeless, participating, indeed, in that which is divine. This singularly important thought in Chrestou’s work is a dimension of understanding that gives his words a special force and significance for the American reader.

This little book is handsomely bound with a very attractive abstract design on the cover. My only criticism is a small one. The increasing tendency to delete the term “Saint” before the names of those glorified by the Church is an unhealthy one—borrowed from the scholarly conventions of the West. Interestingly enough, Dr. Chrestou does not employ this convention in his Greek text, where his initial references to a saint always contain an appellation of honor or respect. We Orthodox have a special veneration for saints. To those advanced in spiritual life, these saints become “friends”—even friends whom we can address informally; to those of us yet struggling in the spiritual life, these saints are the image of that to which we aspire and icons of our future state—and we owe them veneration and awe. We might all keep this note in mind.

This book is a “must.”

Archimandrite Chrysostomos
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Sunset Years: A Russian Pilgrim in the West. By Nicholas Zernov. London: The Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1983. Pp. 192. Exclusive American distribution: Light and Life Publishing Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

This book is a memoir; not an autobiography, but one of the sources of an eventual definitive biography. Its subject is a scholar of the first generation Russian émigrés following the Bolshevik takeover of the democratic revolution which overthrew the decadent Romanov dynasty. The author taught at Oxford from 1947 to 1966 when he retired from the post of Spalding Lecturer in Eastern Orthodox Culture.

The volume covers the period of the Russian Emigration, and the mission which Zernov saw for it as a form of spreading the Orthodox faith and as an important factor in the ecumenical movement. Included

are numerous "Reflections on Faith and Life" as Part 3 is entitled, though the "reflections," little essays of opinion and thought, are scattered throughout the volume. These reflections reveal not only some aspects of Zernov's thought as one of the leading intellectuals of the Russian Orthodox churches in the English-speaking world of the half century from 1930 to 1980. Originally written "in Russian for Russians," it was translated by the ecumenical Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius for the English-speaking.

Several of the sections, as well as the last chapter describing Zernov's last illnesses, death and funeral were written by his devoted and loving wife, Militza. Beginning the book is an appreciative Foreword by Metropolitan Anthony (Bloom) of Sourozh, and a copy of the Metropolitan's funeral sermon is included. A bibliography of the writings of Nicholas Zernov is also included.

In her Preface, Militza Zernov indicates that her husband wrote the book during the last months of his life. At several places in the book she indicates that he dictated portions of it to her at various times, even from the sickbed. He never had the opportunity to revise it. Consequently, there is an unevenness about the writing. At times it reads like the rehearsal of the outline of a lecture; at others, the musings of an experienced professor theology; at other times, the deepest thoughts of a genuine Christian spirit; and in other places, it is a testament, a final evaluation of the meaning of life from the perspective of one who has lived the Orthodox Christian faith for over eight decades in a reflective, sensitive and spiritual way. Some of the most interesting passages describe the life of the early Russian émigré's life in Paris in the 1920s and 30s. I was particularly impressed to read about the Great Friday proliferation of "Epitaphia," which he visited with a friend and described with such fascinating detail.

In spite of the unevenness and variety of material—or precisely because of it—the book reads easily and provokes interest and reader involvement. For example, there are broad generalizations which are permitted only to those who have lived through perilous times and have reached an age which justifies the sweeping evaluation. Speaking during the tranquil period of his retirement and before his illness, he wrote:

This was the manner of our life during those peaceful years in Oxford. But we could never forget that this life is a fruitful and quiet oasis in a world of cruel struggle and immeasurable suffering. The arms race, the surrender of one country after another to the tyranny of totalitarian Communism with all its violence and falsehood, the moral decline of the Western democracies—all these

reveal to us how fragile is our existence and how close the possibility of catastrophe. We are becoming more and more aware of the tragic state of the world and especially of our own country [Russia is obviously meant here]. Only in the Church do we find the source of that goodness and light which can never be conquered by the forces of evil and darkness.

Such is the underlying perspective of this testament and memoir. It is to be read in thoughtful little bits and pieces, for it ranges from the profound and thoughtful, to the instructive, to the remembrance of little details (the minutiae of his first modest flat in Paris is described with loving words), to the devotion-filled expression of the man for his wife and faithful companion: "In my life I have received many gifts from God, but the most precious of them all is my meeting with Militza . . . Militza has become not only my doctor and nurse but also my unique friend, partner in my most intimate thoughts and aspirations."

Through the reading of this volume, we, too, in some small measure, enter into those intimate thoughts, aspirations, experiences, and reflections. Truly a very worthwhile book.

Stanley S. Harakas

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

A Dictionary of Greek Orthodoxy: "Lexikon Hellenikes Orthodoxias." By Nikon D. Patrinos. Foreword by Archbishop Iakovos. New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America (Department of Education), 1984. Pp. 392.

At long last, a reliable, competent, and authoritative work for ready reference on the Greek Orthodox Church has been published. We are indebted to Fr. Nikon D. Patrinos, a retired priest of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, a Ph.D. from Oxford University, former professor and dean of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, former editor of the monthly *Orthodox Observer* and former director of the Archdiocesan Department of Studies for this valuable contribution.

The volume is directed to Greek Orthodox people primarily, who find questions arising about their life as Orthodox Christians as they go through the various stages of life. It is conceived as a home reference book which will be referred to frequently throughout the years to resolve issues and questions. Thus, Patrinos notes: "It is hoped that there are few personal, religious, and moral questions, for which no explanation, together with an answer on the basis of the faith and practice of

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The Americanization of Orthodoxy: Crisis and Challenge

VIGEN GUROIAN

BETTER THAN ANY of his generation of theologians, the late Fr. Alexander Schmemmann diagnosed the deep crisis of the Orthodox Church in its Western diaspora. As he astutely pointed out, the Orthodox Church has undergone a two-fold crisis in this century which challenges Orthodoxy to reformulate radically the Church's mission. The first development identified by Schmemmann was "the tragically spectacular collapse of the various 'Orthodox worlds,' " which practically until the moment of their demise "appeared as the self-evident natural and permanent home[s] and environment[s]" of Orthodoxy. Following upon this development was the "rapid and massive growth" of an Orthodox diaspora in the West which marked the end of Orthodoxy's isolation in and "total identification with the East and [commenced] the beginning of a new destiny in the West and with the context of [an increasingly secularized] Western culture."¹

All of the Orthodox churches in America have stories to tell of dispersion. And any serious attempt by Orthodox Americans to address the new station of their national churches in the "unnatural" context of a pluralistic secular society, whose Christian roots are not even Orthodox, must begin with a truthful telling of these stories. This is no less the case for Armenian Orthodox than for Greek, Roumanian, or Syrian Orthodox. But, perhaps, the case of the Armenian diaspora and the success or failure of the Armenian Church to make sense of its diaspora should be of special interest to the rest of the Orthodox. This I propose because of the intensity of the Armenian experience due to the genocide of 1915-1923. For if there is such a thing as "a tragically spectacular collapse" of an Orthodox world which sent an Orthodox people into a worldwide diaspora and set the pattern for other such diasporas in the twentieth century, it is the Turkish genocide of the

¹Alexander Schmemmann, *Church World Mission*. (Crestwood, N.Y., 1979). p.8.

Armenians during the First World War.

In this paper, I intend to do some theological reflection out of the Armenian experience and to broaden the discussion to an analysis of

occurred in 1453 with the fall of Constantinople. The sultans sought to counterbalance the Greek presence by moving thousands of Armenians—whose skills in commerce and the crafts were valued by the new Turkic rulers—to the city from Armenia and Cilicia. At this time an Armenian patriarchate was also established in the city. In the sixteenth century the Turkish-Persian wars broke out and at the turn of the seventeenth century Armenia was invaded by the Persians. Those Armenians who could escape the conquerors emigrated to the Balkan countries and Eastern Europe to join those of earlier immigrations. Many who were not able to flee were deported in 1605 to the Persian capital of Isfahan, eventually founding nearby the Armenian city of New Julfa.

These national hardships did not destroy the distinctively Christian national ethos of the Armenian people. Indeed, they evoked heroic stances in defense of the historic faith. Armenians continue to look to this history as proof and encouragement that they as a people and church can overcome the devastation to the national and religious life wrought by the genocide and great dispersion of this century. Nevertheless, there also has been self-delusion in this sort of thinking which has prevented the Armenian Church from meeting the formidable challenges to its religious life posed by the new American host culture and society. Such thinking in its self-delusion has been symptomatic of the Armenian Church's refusal to come to terms with what actually happened in 1915. The Armenocide was not only the slaughter of one and one-half million Armenians, fully two-thirds of the Armenians in the historic homeland, but the very death of the Armenian Christian world. The Christian nation which Saint Gregory the Illuminator founded in the fourth century had been slowly strangled by the Ottoman yoke and was finally crucified and put to death by the Young Turk.

In this century most of the national Orthodox churches have suffered Golgothas similar to that of the Armenian Church, though, again, perhaps none was quite so devastating to the national life. As in the Armenian case, these churches also have experienced a virtual resurrection. Armenians are familiar with homilies and Easter sermons on the resurrection of their nation and church. Yet, so very often these sermons trumpet a triumphalism which encourages Armenians to behave as if the old Armenian world had never died and, indeed, is yet present wherever they gather together as Church. Like the disciples who, after the crucifixion of their Lord could not believe what had happened and when encountered by Jesus in his resurrected glorified body did not recognize him, Armenians also have not yet been able to recognize the Armenian Church in its resurrected body. The diasporan resurrection of the Armenian Church is in the form of a spiritual body. This resurrected diasporan life means that the Armenian Church's long

isolation from the other Christian churches for the sake of the nation's survival ought to have ended. In fact, however, the Church persists in acting as if it is under the Ottoman *millet* system.² In other words, the Church continues to deny the collapse of the temporal order to which it once gave birth and for so long assumed primary responsibility. And for Armenians in the American diaspora the Church became that refuge in which they could pursue the illusion of a golden age which they also believed the Church was somehow capable of restoring. The Church's reason for being was to make the "old world" present and not the kingdom of God. Cut off from the traditional religious life and with little available means for recalling the actual substance of the historical piety and practice, Armenians in the American diaspora constructed an ersatz religiosity which amounted to a fantastic and futile endeavor to sacramentalize extreme ethnocentricism and secular nationalism.

Adding to this spiritual malaise, a jurisdictional dispute and division arose during the 1930s which finally divided the Armenian Church in America into two dioceses, one under the Catholicos of the See of Holy Etchmiadzin in Soviet Armenia and the other under the Catholicos of the Holy See of Cilicia in Antelias, Lebanon. The rift continues to this day, although in recent years bilateral talks and negotiations between representatives of the two dioceses have inched toward unification. Nevertheless, the politics of the rift and the very processes presumably directed toward its settlement also reveal the degree to which the Armenian Church has been subject to a secularization that has viscerated the spiritual life of its people, even threatening the continued presence of the Armenian Church in America. Thus, for some, the question of Church unity remains a function of Cold War politics, i.e., "What will happen without the leverage of the 'free' See of Cilicia in the Church here in America?" "Could the Armenian Church become a servile pawn of Soviet politics mediated by the Catholicos in Etchmiadzin?" These sorts of questions were raised, in fact, by members of the National Representative Assembly of the Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church in America in May (1984). Aside from what grounds such political questions obtain in the real world of 1984, they raise the spectre of a church whose whole reason for being has become, in the minds of many of those who lord over its destiny, to wage a political war about the Armenian nation's destiny—whether it will be free or

²The *millet* system was established at the beginning of the Ottoman Empire as a means of organizing and separating subject peoples as semi-autonomous religious entities. Each *millet* was headed by the patriarch(s) or religious hierarchy. In the case of Ottoman Armenians, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople was made responsible for the good behavior of the *millet* and was granted substantial control over the religious, cultural, and educational life of Armenians in the Empire.

Soviet, limited to the present boundaries or expanded into eastern Turkey. Where real politics end and fantasy begins is sometimes difficult to discern within the Armenian national diasporan life. What is certain is that the Armenian Church has undergone a degree of secularization which threatens to make its presence all but meaningless to those American-born Armenians of a third and fourth generation who hunger for the Bread of Life and no longer would have the Church be that place in which the old world of the past is projected into the future as the hope upon which hinges the meaning of one's personal existence or Armenian identity. For these American-born Armenians such a hope is a dream alien to the world in which they live out their daily lives. And an institution whose purpose it is to enact such a world is both strange and irrelevant.

Typical of what I have in mind are the proceedings and discussions of the 1984 National Representative Assembly of the Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church in America referred to above. I belong to this diocese and was present as an observer. For members of both Armenian dioceses the issue of unity has become compelling because it is perceived that unity could clear the way for greater and more intense efforts to address the massive attrition of the second and third generations and now the children of these American-born Armenians, descendents of the great immigration during and after the First World War. For, in spite of the recent and large new immigration of Armenians from the Middle East which has given a new breath of life to a declining church,³ the fact remains that the underlying causes for the loss of the great body of third generation American-born Armenians have not been answered, have deprived the Church of a much needed lay leadership and threaten in the future to work the same effect upon the second and third generations of the new immigration. Yet the debate over unity that unfolded at the National Representative Assembly demonstrated the degree to which the Armenian Church's reason for being has been misunderstood by its own people. Never once in all the debate was it argued: "Unity must be achieved because the people of God, who are called to holiness, must never do such violence to the body of their Lord." Nor did even one member say in so many words:

³The effects of this new immigration have not been tranquil or entirely positive. The new immigration has disturbed the evolution of the Armenian church in America from an immigrant to an "American" church. This is reflected in a divisive, sometimes acrimonious, struggle between the descendants of the old (Turkish) immigration and members of the new (Arabic and Iranian) immigration over the direction the Armenian Church will take for the next generation. Such a phenomenon is not new in the history of American religion and immigration. The most noteworthy example is the history of Jewish immigration (e.g., conflicts between German and Russian Jewish immigrations). But many Orthodox national churches have experienced similar inner-ethnic conflicts.

“We cannot go on dividing our Lord’s garments and crucifying Him on a cross of ungodly political controversies.” Instead, what one heard was: “We must have unity in order to save ourselves.” And by this was meant save our ethnic identity. The Church, however, does not exist in order to save anyone’s ethnicity. If Armenians in America persist in viewing their church as the means to such an end they will not only fail to achieve unity in America, they also will fail to retain the great numbers of American-born Armenians now and in the future. Not all the blame lies with the laity. Lay ignorance of what the Church is and why it exists is largely the tragic legacy of the Ottoman captivity, the genocide, and the great diaspora. There is also a failure of the hierarchy and clergy which has endeavored fruitlessly to sacralize a nationalism and ethnocentrism which themselves threaten to consume the Church. The question which the leadership of the Armenian Church, lay and clerical alike, has not asked itself, but which must eventually be raised is: “How much sense can the Church’s relentless efforts to link the Armenian nation (inevitably interpreted politically by its people) with the Christian faith mean in any concrete or personal way to third and fourth generation Armenian-Americans who live in a culture which is not Armenian and soon will be, if it is not already, not even nominally Christian?” The loss of vast numbers of my generation of American-born Armenians was not due to the Armenian Church not being Armenian or national enough. Rather, this happened because the Church sacrificed its evangelical mission and catholic teaching on the altar of a secular nationalism which was not by any stretch of the imagination the faith of the fathers and did little to meet the spiritual needs of a generation born in America and already twice removed from the Ottoman past.

The Secularization of American Orthodoxy

I tell this sad story because it could well stand as a symbol for much of what has gone wrong with Orthodoxy in America. My conversations with Greeks and Russians of the second and third generations have uncovered similar versions of the tale just rendered. In all cases, a national church uprooted from its natural soil has persisted in acting as if that uprooting never took place, or at least as if the new soil into which it had been transplanted was no different than the soil from which it was removed. It is an odd irony of history that churches which once were so attentive to the cultural context in which their evangelization should take place would in a later age be so utterly inattentive to the new cultural context into which they were thrust by forces of history beyond their control. One can agree with Fr. John Meyendorff’s assessment: “There is a fully legitimate degree to which the Church can identify itself with national ethos and tradition and assume some responsibility

for the society in which it exists.” But it is also true, as Meyendorff argues, that in the nineteenth century there was a clear reversal in the scale of values even within the Orthodox national cultures. “The ‘nation’ and its interests began to be considered as ends in themselves, and instead of guiding their nations to Christ, most Orthodox churches accepted de facto control by secular national interests.”⁴ That situation has persisted to one degree or another in most, if not all, of the Orthodox churches in the American diaspora; except that such secular national aspirations in America have had to adjust to American pluralism and redefine themselves as *ethnic* alongside other legitimate ethnic aspirations. Also, in order for such an ethnicity to gain acceptance in the American culture, it must undergo a transformation which is, in spite of what the most hard core “nationalist” in the church might imagine, a gradual acculturation. Ethnic churches are churches in the process of being Americanized even as they persist in calling up the memories of past national glories or submit themselves as instruments of one ethnic nationalism or another. The sad irony in all this is that national churches in the American diaspora, when used as instruments of ethnic self-preservation, in the end, cannot meet the expectations of those who would have it so. The forces of assimilation in the surrounding culture are simply too great. The people who retreat weekly into the church which they have made their ethnic enclave are bringing into that church willy-nilly the very American character which they would have the church shelter them from.

The potential tragedy in this process is not that the Greek, Russian and Armenian churches are becoming more American, but that they are becoming so uncritically and at great cost to the Orthodox faith. The secularization process which Meyendorff refers to as actually having begun in the indigenous culture continues in the diaspora, only in a far more convoluted and subtle manner. For the Church, having been made into an instrument of ethnic or national aspirations, substitutes a secular religion of ethnicity for the catholic faith. Thus, it becomes doubly unattractive to the American-born Greek, Russian or Armenian who finds the Church increasingly alien as well as unable to meet his/her spiritual needs.

A bit more needs to be said about the secularity of this religion of ethnicity which so often prevails in Orthodox parishes and in the personal lives of Orthodox Americans. For our purposes secularism can be defined quite simply as the loss or absence of the experience of God. The secular religion of ethnicity is characterized by a lack of seriousness about worship and holiness, but much seriousness about survival and success in the “world.” In this case, survival and success are pursued

⁴John Meyendorff, *Living Tradition*. (Crestwood, N.Y., 1978), p. 87.

through the perpetuation of an ethnic culture such that it and those adhering to it are accepted and respected within the greater society. The Church becomes defined as the instrument of this "worldly" activity and the measure of the Church's value is a "worldly" calculus of its "utility" and usefulness in achieving these goals. Similarly, the Church becomes the custodian of a folk culture of culinary arts, dance, and ancient religious rituals and artifacts, the primary value of the latter being their beauty and distinctiveness as Greek or Russian whose religious meaning is reserved to the "experts." Recently, a dedicated lay woman and leader in the Armenian Church remarked to me, "We worry about losing our culture, our food, our music, . . . but no one ever asks whether we are losing our faith." She summed up quite well the secularization of the Orthodox churches in America.

By becoming thus secularized the Orthodox churches stand also to become Americanized in the worst possible fashion, one which poses a deadly threat to their catholic faith. The ethnicity which Orthodox Americans call upon their church to guard, protect, and promote is quite compatible with a whole constellation of secular values belonging to the "American Way" which get referred to God for religious sanction. It does not matter whether the values receive religious sanction in a Russian Orthodox or a Southern Baptist Church. For example, the obsession with survival, which in many Orthodox parishes becomes the primary motive to action, quickly opens the door to the translation of the parish from a body of believers who come together to worship the living Lord to a community of "survivors" whose primary responsibility is to themselves as a group dedicated to the preservation of its ethnic identity. In order to accomplish this end the last conceivable means of doing so would seem to be the liturgy. Time and energy is best spent organizing bake sales, dances, bingo games, and providing a variety of educational and recreational activities for young and old. The liturgy, itself, becomes one instrument with which to legitimize the other more important activities that must take place.

The question demands asking and an answer: "How in essence does this Greek or Armenian parish differ from the Girl Scouts, the local garden club, Republican club, or health spa?" Its proposed end might be different, i.e., preserving and fostering the ethnic heritage, but are its instrumental values and organization any different? And, in fact, is success in preserving one's "Greekness" or "Armenianness" in a pluralistic society such as ours really different in essence from being a good Democrat, a dedicated Shriner, or Boy Scout? By no means should my remarks be construed as a complete prejudice against all forms of ethnic or cultural association relative to Christian faith. America is a multicommunal society. And this is on balance a social good. Christian belief is a

human faith, and there is no such thing as a non-cultural Christianity. People, by virtue of their very humanity, have need of some familiar cultural environment within and through which to express and enact their faith. But my point has been made. The catholic and universal Church must be something more, something greater, than that ethnic church to which many of our Orthodox parishes in America have been reduced. The Orthodox parish, in order to be the Church, must serve a spiritual end which challenges and does not mimic the world's values of survival, success, and self or group-glorification.

The Future of an American Orthodoxy

In America, the Orthodox Church faces a two-horned challenge during these closing decades of the twentieth century. First, it must find ways of retaining the third and fourth generations of the early immigrations, using their talents and meeting their spiritual needs. Second, it must learn both the discernment and vigilance which will enable it to resist the secular impetus of the "American Way" as that ethos impinges increasingly upon the Church's life. It is not within the scope of this paper to answer in detail just how these challenges can be met. The task lies well beyond my limited purview and competence. But through the example of the crisis of the Armenian Church in America, I believe I have introduced and explored many of the prickly facets of this two-horned problem as it affects my church.

With respect, however, to the first horn of the problem one final caveat ought to be added. The successful retention and/or retrieval of the third and fourth generations is not without its own attendant problems. For, once the Orthodox churches are in the hands of these thoroughly Americanized Orthodox and the churches have passed beyond the stage of immigrant church, the second horn of the challenge to an American Orthodoxy will come into full play. These Americanized Orthodox will bring with them into the Church the whole array of secular values and dispositions which in an American rather than specifically ethnic fashion threaten to reduce the Church to an instrument of secular agendas. This prospect warrants some discussion and must serve as a way of ending this paper as well.

Some thirty years ago, the late Will Herberg published his now classic study of religion and ethnicity in America, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*. In it he argued that there is an ethnic skeleton to American religion. He also observed that with the added flesh of successive generations the ethnic skeleton becomes less pronounced and visible. American religion takes on a tripartite composition of three great religious communities which stand in unity and tension with one another and with the American culture. From the title of the book it is clear that Herberg

was unaware of the presence of the Orthodox Church. Rather, Herberg judged that, as of the mid or late 1950s Orthodoxy had not yet come of age in America. It remained an immigrant or ethnic church, looking inwardly, not yet having had rise within it a third generation of American-born Greeks, Russians, or Syrians.⁵ Unlike their fathers and mothers, the sons and daughters of immigrants, members of this third generation are not perplexed by a double identity of being somehow foreigners—though once removed—and also Americans. The third generation, observed Herberg, is comfortably American. It partakes of the American life without a sense of inferiority, without an acute uneasiness with its past ethnic background or need to ground that ethnic identity in constant ritual reenactment of that past. This generation, as Herberg explained, is not without its own need to place itself in American society. Indeed, it seeks a religious means of establishing a distinctive identity within American society. But it does not desire to do so in the explicitly ethnic modes of its parents or grandparents. Herberg's analysis of American religion remains powerfully descriptive of American religion, even in the 1980s. It certainly tells us something about the present state of Orthodoxy. If Orthodoxy was in adolescence as an American religion thirty years ago, it has grown to maturity since that time. The third generation has come of age. Yet does this mean that Orthodoxy should now make its "rightful" claim to being the "fourth major faith" of American religion and gratefully join the other three in their common communion before the altar of the "American Way"? I do not think Herberg would have urged such a thing. One compelling message of Herberg's book was that the "American Way," however respectful of religion and religious freedom, is also a highly secularized creed whose impetus is to reduce the biblical faith into something it is not in its historic expressions. He wrote:

In this kind of religion there is no sense of transcendence, no sense of the nothingness of man and his works before a holy God; in this kind of religion the values of life, and life itself, are not submitted to Almighty God to judge, to shatter, and to reconstruct; on the contrary, life, and the values of life, are given an ultimate sanction by being identified with the divine. In this kind of religion it is not man who serves God, but God who is mobilized and made to serve man and his purposes—whether these purposes be economic prosperity, free enterprise, social reform, democracy, happiness, security, or "peace of mind." God is conceived as man's "omnipotent

⁵These observations regarding Herberg's thesis and his assessment of the status of Orthodoxy in America are based on conversations with him at Drew University during the early and mid-1970s.

servant," faith is a sure-fire device to get what we want.⁶

Earlier I referred to the secularization already undergone by the Orthodox churches in America. It may well be that in the future, Orthodox Christians who have become fully Americanized will follow the lead of their sister churches in America and use their religion to justify the whole range of secular values and activities of the "American Way" to which Herberg makes reference. For example, until the present, Orthodox have looked with considerable skepticism upon the social activism of mainline Protestants and Roman Catholics. Herberg's analysis provides solid ground upon which to raise serious questions about the manner in which these churches have submitted themselves as instruments of this or that political movement or cause. However, as I already pointed out, the Orthodox have been busy making their own faith serve ethnic and national movements, the net effect of which is the idolization of the group or its culture. Past and present Orthodox habit indicates that an Americanized Orthodoxy of the future, having abandoned the nationalistic programs of the earlier days, might well proceed to endorse uncritically the "American Way."

In an article written some twenty years ago, Alexander Schmemmann reflected on just these challenges to American Orthodoxy. In it he warned of the great temptation for Orthodoxy to become simply the "fourth major faith."⁷ He said that if an Orthodoxy in America were to take that path much of what makes the Orthodox Church distinct and faithful to the apostolic witness would be lost. There is much in the American culture which is, in fact, utterly corrosive of and antithetical to Christian belief and practice. American culture's pervasive hedonism, materialism and instrumentalism seek to persuade that this world is an end in itself and that all meaning and purpose are determined by whatever pleasure, power, and wealth one can "get out of life." Orthodoxy cannot assume—as its Byzantine past would dispose it to do—that there is an easy correlation between its faith and the culture. On both the personal and corporate levels Orthodoxy must come to terms with an historic situation in which there is no *symphonia* with the prevailing culture. Being a faithful and conscientious Orthodox means that one's values and actions will often conflict or be in tension with the prevailing mores of one's community and neighbors. This requires a courage that itself needs the support of the parish and ultimately the full body of Orthodox believers in America.

⁶Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*. (Garden City, N.Y., 1960), p. 268.

⁷Schmemmann, "Problems of Orthodoxy in America: III. The Spiritual Problem," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly Review*, 9 (1965) 171-93.

Finally, if my analysis concerning the present state of Orthodox churches in America even approximates accuracy, the work ahead which would keep Orthodoxy on a straight path will be difficult. It amounts to nothing less than the rehabilitation of an apostolic and evangelical life in the midst of an increasingly secular society. The first object to keep in mind is that our striving must be to deepen our Christian character and not “to keep the ‘American Orthodox’ as Russian or as Greek as possible” or to make the “ ‘Russian’ or ‘Greek Orthodox’ as American as possible.”⁸ If there is one fundamental failure of the Orthodox churches in America it is their inability, or perhaps lack of interest, to produce an educated laity. I do not mean education in the strictly formal sense either, though to be sure there is a desperate need for Orthodox laity with degrees in theology, divinity, and religious education. Rather, I have in mind a church in which there is an ongoing and living catechesis. Knowing that one is Orthodox is not enough. One must have *good reasons* for being Christian and Orthodox. The inability of Orthodox Christians to answer satisfactorily among themselves or for the friendly religious or secular inquirer what difference it makes to be an Orthodox Christian is a terrible judgment upon the Orthodox Church in America.

Such instruction in Christian character and conviction starts with worship. For example, the primary text for Orthodox ethics is the baptismal rite. The call for liturgical revival cannot be dismissed as the esoteric interest of aesthetic savants addicted to ancient ritual and music. This call is rooted in the recognition that it is in worship and prayer, in the *lex orandi*, that Christian character has its beginnings and is constantly deepened and enriched. Thus, the living ongoing catechesis which I have in mind must begin with a liturgical revival. But it must, of course, extend beyond the sanctuary. That which takes place below in the social hall or adjacently in the classrooms must reflect the spirit of the *lex orandi* and embody it in religious community and active engagement with society.

Sadly, the Orthodox parish has taken on a life largely autonomous of and unrelated to the life of worship and prayer. This fact is neatly symbolized by the familiar scene in many Orthodox parishes on any given Sunday of the members of the parish council huddled in an anteroom counting change rather than gathered with the faithful in the sanctuary. The Orthodox parish must be transformed from a Sunday version of “business as usual” into a leavening agency of discipleship and Christian mission. How to make the parish serious once again about the evangelical faith deserves an answer which is yet forthcoming. But

⁸Ibid., p. 180.

when it comes it will not be from any single individual or group of people. It will arise from the earnest endeavors of those Orthodox everywhere who, aware of the momentous challenges facing their Church, have striven in all possible ways within their church communities to “aim at righteousness, love, steadfastness, gentleness” and to “fight the good fight of faith; take hold of the eternal life to which [they] made the good confession in the presence of many witnesses” (1 Tim 6.11-14).

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The *De ecclesiae* of Leon Allatios—A Church History of the Seventeenth Century

CHARLES FRAZEE

AMONG SEVENTEENTH CENTURY GREEK SCHOLARS, Leon Allatios deserves special attention. The sheer volume of his published and unpublished works mark him as one of the most prolific authors of his time. A true polymath, he drew topics from both the religious and secular world and composed with equal ease in his native Greek, as well as in Italian and Latin.

To the Greeks of his homeland Allatios was an outsider, separated from them because of his Latin faith and residence abroad. Born, probably in 1587, on the island of Chios into an Orthodox family, he was taken to Italy by his uncle when he was but nine years old. Several years later he enrolled in Rome's Greek College where he spent the next ten years of his life. In 1610 he graduated with degrees in philosophy and theology. Sometime during his student years he made a Latin profession of faith, but contrary to the intent of the college's constitution, refused ordination and the life of a missionary to the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire.

For several years he returned to Chios where he served on the staff of the Latin bishop, Marco Giustiniani Massone. When a dispute erupted between Massone and the confraternities in the Latin community, the bishop decided on a personal appeal to Rome and took Allatios along with him as his aide. Once the matter was settled, Allatios informed Massone that he wanted to remain in Italy. From 1616 until the end of his long life, he never again set foot on Greek soil. He died in 1669 while serving as head curator of the Vatican Library.¹

Despite the long years he spent away from Greece, he never lost

¹ Allatios' unfinished biography, by Stefano Gradi, is to be found in Angelo Mai, ed., *Nova patrum bibliotheca* (10 vols., Rome, 1844-1905), 6, part 2, pp. v-xxix. Allatios' published works number sixty volumes; his papers, which fill 236 volumes, remain only partially catalogued in Rome's Vallicelliana Library.

interest in his homeland. To the very end of his life he spoke with pride of his ancestry and the glories of his native island Chios. Fortunately, there was in Rome a circle of friends and academicians who were Philhellenes. This group was composed of faculty and alumni from the Greek College, Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries who had worked in the East and members of the papal curia such as Cardinal Francesco Barberini, a nephew of Pope Urban VIII.

During these years in Rome, Allatius worked in several libraries. At the Vatican his official position was *scriptor*. His duties were to assemble and catalogue its large Greek manuscript collection. In that capacity, he gathered and recorded an immense amount of information on dozens of subjects ranging from classical Greece through the Byzantine period. The most important of his works are in church history, and of these his monumental *De ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione, Libri tres* is best remembered.

The occasion for its composition appeared when a German friend, Bartold Niehus (Nihusius), asked Allatius to send him information on those Greeks who had not fallen into 'heresy.' Niehus was a Catholic convert who had abandoned Lutheranism while studying at the University of Helmstedt. Later he became a monk, and then abbot of the Benedictine Monastery of Ilfeld. Here he composed a number of polemical works directed against Protestantism. Since many Lutheran and Calvinist theologians used Orthodox attacks upon the Latin church, Niehus needed material to refute their charges and turned to Allatius to get it. He received more than he probably wanted, for Allatius was never a man of few words. The body of the *De ecclesiae*, written in Latin but with long Greek quotations taken from original manuscripts, contains 1362 columns. Niehus explains in his Introduction that he doubts anyone in the world could have provided such an exhaustive response.²

The *De ecclesiae* came to be published in 1648 possibly in Cologne as printed or, according to other sources, in Amsterdam. These were turbulent times in Northern Europe, so it is now impossible to know for certain the circumstances surrounding the publication. Soon after 1648 copies of the book became hard to find. In the United States only two original copies are extant. In 1970, thanks to Gregg International Publishers, the *De ecclesiae* was reprinted making it readily available.

² On Niehus, see Hugo Hurter, *Nomenclature literarius theologiae catholicae-theologos exhibens aetate, natione, disciplinis distinctos* (5 vols., Innsbruck, 1903-1910), 3, p 1025 Niehus, later named auxiliary bishop of Mainz, collaborated with Allatius on several other works. He died on March 10, 1657

This edition is enhanced with a perceptive introduction by Bishop Kallistos Ware.³

When Allatios wrote he had in mind a number of recent Greek authors who had attacked the Latin theological position, as well as Catholic writers whose response to them had been weak or erroneous. Among the former were Meletios Pegas, Maximos Margounios and Gabriel Severos. All three had in common an education at the University of Padua, but their training in the West did not mean that they became sympathetic to the Roman church. In 1596, the union of the Ukrainian bishops at Brest, as well as increased Latin missionary activity in Constantinople and Syria, made each extremely sensitive to the Latin threat to Orthodoxy.

While Pegas settled as patriarch of Alexandria in Constantinople, Margounios and Severos, like Allatios, made their homes for many years in Italy. Both were associated with the Greek community in Venice. Although he had to acknowledge the Latin patriarch as his superior in order to hold his position, Severos demonstrated by his writing that he had no intention of conforming to Latin theology on those issues which divided the Latin and Greek churches. Severos found Margounios, his fellow émigré bishop in Venice, much too willing to compromise with the Latins. Margounios' three volumes on the procession of the Holy Spirit, written in 1583, were criticized by Severos over a decade, until Margounios finally accepted that the Orthodox and Catholic positions were, in fact, impossible of a single interpretation.⁴

On the Catholic side of the *filioque*, papal authority, and purgatory, was Matthew Devaris whose work was published in Greek in 1583. Several other authors, whose roots were in the Catholic communities of southern Italy or Crete, accused the Greeks of heresy and argued that Orthodox sacraments were invalid. Their influence swayed opinion in Rome, if not among their fellow Greeks, so that there was danger of their view becoming adopted by the Holy Office. In 1614, on a query from Bishop Massone of Chios (Allatios' bishop) the theologians attached to this commission would have had Catholic children baptized and chrismated by Orthodox clergy rebaptized, and mixed marriages witnessed in the Orthodox churches revalidated in a Catholic service

³ I am grateful to the librarians at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, for their assistance in allowing me to use their original copy for my study.

⁴ On these authors see Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie helléniques ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs au XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (4 vols., Paris, 1885-1906), 2, pp. xxiii-lxxvii and 115-19, 148-51; Deno Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 53-70; M. Jugie, "Un théologien grec du XVI^e siècle: Gabriel Sévèr et les divergences entre les deux églises," *Echos d'Orient*, 16, 2 (1913) 97-109.

according to the forms of the Council of Trent. Only the weighty opinion of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine saved the Holy Office from adopting such an extreme position.⁵

Allatios' major inspiration for the *De ecclesiae* came from the work of Cardinal Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, whose first volume appeared in 1588. Baronio sought to provide in the series of twelve books he eventually edited the definitive guide to the Counter-Reformation's view of church history. The *Annales* sought to answer the charges that Protestants made accusing the Roman church of defecting from the true faith. Baronio catalogued the major events of each year demonstrating, to his satisfaction, the continuity of Catholic Christianity from its origins to the sixteenth century.⁶

What Baronio had done for his Western audience, Allatios proposed to do with the Orthodox East in mind. He did not, however, organize his material in the same way, for the *De ecclesiae* is much more than a chronicle. Its distinctive feature is the long quotations taken from Eastern churchmen, whose views were seen as supporting Allatios' thesis that for most of Christian history Catholics and Orthodox shared the same faith. At a time when little was known in the West of the medieval period of the Orthodox Church, Allatios performed a singular service in bringing this information to light. In all, the author cites from approximately six hundred Eastern theologians and historians, a prodigious task when it is recalled that this was undertaken without any modern bibliographic aids.⁷

The dedication of the *De ecclesiae*, for political reasons, is to Louis XIV who, in 1648 was a boy of eleven years and under the tutelage of his mother Anne of Austria and Cardinal Giulio Mazarin. It is hardly likely that it had much interest for the king, since the *De ecclesiae* is by no stretch of the imagination children's literature. Nevertheless Allatios addresses Louis as if he were a mature adult, telling him his purpose, in examining the interaction between the Greek and Roman churches so as to prove, "that the faith of both has always been one and the same; that they have lived in one spirit although following different laws."⁸ This succinct description of his intent provides the focus of his work.

⁵ Georg Hoffman, "Il beato Bellarmino e gli Orientali," *Orientalia Christiana*, 8 (1927) 267; "Gli apologisti della dottrina cattolica contro i Greci nel secolo XVII," *Bessarione*, 27 (1910-11) 284-96.

⁶ On Baronio's work see Cyrnae Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius, Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame, 1975), pp 144-75

⁷ The authors are listed in *De ecclesiae*, pp xxxii to xxxvi

⁸ Following this dedication the *De ecclesiae* contains a long poem in Greek verse, which Allatios had composed at the time of Louis XIV's birth. It is full

The first book of the *De ecclesiae* surveys ancient church history to the ninth century, especially as it pertains to the growth of papal power. Allatios quotes a succession of Greek fathers who dealt with the bishops of Rome in the fourth and fifth centuries. He contrasts the generally good relations between the Greeks and Latins and the hostile hierarchies of Armenia, Syria, and Egypt after the Synod of Chalcedon. Allatios contends that the whole Christian Orient was willing to concede a primacy to Rome's bishop as Peter's successor. Indeed, the major sees recognized at Nikaia were all connected to him: Peter had made Antioch a patriarchate before going to Italy and had sent his disciple Mark to found the church of Alexandria before he himself assumed the bishopric of Rome. Just as Noah's three sons repopled the world with their descendents after the flood, Peter's successors governed Alexandria and Antioch in his name. Rome established its primacy because of Peter—its church judged but was not judged, it made laws for others, but none legislated for it.⁹

Allatios cites the prayers of the Greek church for June 29, the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, to confirm the high regard given the Roman see. He rejects those few authors who make Jerusalem the mother city of Christianity and calls them lonely voices who ignore Jesus' commission to Peter. Allatios next responds to the statement: If Rome had both Peter and Paul as its first bishops, then the apostolic authority should be shared. He then counters that Peter's name alone is found in episcopal lists; if both apostles enjoyed equal precedence, then there would have been two shepherds in Rome, two successors and two lines of bishops.¹⁰

A distinction, he implies, must be made between primacy and apostolicity. All of the Twelve, including Paul, were endowed with apostolic authority, but only one, Peter, was singled out by Jesus to correct others and to preside at councils such as the one held in Jerusalem. Peter has the keys of the kingdom, the charge of supervising Christian churches everywhere; he alone has *πρωτοστασίαν*. Although Emperor Constantine took the title 'equal to the apostles,' he never assumed ecclesiastical primacy.

Allatios next develops at great length the three different kinds of Petrine authority: episcopal, whereby he ruled his Roman diocese;

of classical imagery and projects the dauphin's future as champion of Catholic Europe, a new Hercules snapping off the heads of the Hydra, schism and heresy. The poem was reprinted by Demetrios Rodokanakis with a Latin translation in Athens, 1872.

⁹ *De ecclesiae*, 1.2, cols 6-7.

¹⁰ *De ecclesiae*, 1.3, cols. 19-34; 5, cols. 85-86.

patriarchal, which extended his jurisdiction over the Western provinces and their bishops; and primatial, based upon his leadership of the apostles. These powers are now found in Peter's successors.¹¹

The most interesting argument made here concerns patriarchal authority. Allatios notes that according to Diocletian's division between Eastern and Western provinces, the line between the two imperial parts fell to the east of the Greek homeland thereby placing it inside Rome's patriarchal jurisdiction. Only Eastern Thrace was excepted. When Cyril of Alexandria wrote to John of Antioch he spoke of "the whole Western community" lumping together both Latins and Greeks.¹²

After Constantinople was founded and the capital was placed there, its bishop, formerly of Byzantium, received broad power, and the provinces of Asia, Pontos, and Thrace were given to him. Theodore Balsamon in his *Nomocanon* argues that this grant gave Constantinople's see unlimited authority in those territories and ecumenical power beyond. Allatios denies this was the case. "Why," he asks, "should Canon 28 of Chalcedon grant authority over 'the barbarian world' if the patriarch's jurisdiction was already worldwide?"¹³

Allatios pursues his argument that even Rome's patriarchal power rests over the majority of Greeks. He cites Canon 5 of Sardica, the *Notitia Episcopatum* and John Zonaras, another Greek canonist, to prove his point. He notes that Byzantium's bishop held no special distinction until the emperor made the town into the imperial residence. Moreover, even if the apostle Andrew preached there, he was quite content to allow his successor to be suffragan of Heraklia.¹⁴ Taking his case further, Allatios contends that the Synod of Sardica gave universal recognition to Rome when it conferred appellate jurisdiction on it over all the churches of both the West and the East. It could be argued, however, that Allatios stretches the truth here, since the majority of Eastern bishops at the council were not a party to that decision.¹⁵

¹¹ *De ecclesiae*, 1.7, cols. 136-58.

¹² John of Antioch to Cyril of Alexandria, letter 12 in PG 77 94-96; *De ecclesiae*, 1.9, cols. 158-77.

¹³ Theodore Balsamon, *Commentary on the Canons of the Holy Apostles, on the Councils and on the Canonical Letters of the Holy Fathers*, Canon 28 of the Synod of Chalcedon in PG 137.483-87.

¹⁴ J. P. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (new ed., 53 vols., Graz, 1960) 3.9-10; John Zonaras, *Commentary*, Canon 28 of the Synod of Chalcedon, in PG 137 487-92; V. Laurent, "Le corpus notitiarum episcopatum Ecclesiae orientalis Graecae," *Byzantion*, 7 (1932) 512-26.

¹⁵ *De ecclesiae*, 1.13, cols. 199-202.

Allatios is willing to admit that Constantinople developed into a leading bishopric, but its importance, he contends, came after the Synod of Nikaia when the church was already three hundred years old. If, as it had been argued by Balsamon, Constantinople's bishop is important, since the emperor resided in his jurisdiction, obviously Balsamon is unable to distinguish between religious and secular authority. Likewise, if it is suggested that the church is like a body (the church with five patriarchs, the body with five senses), and Constantinople is placed at the head, what was the church like before Constantinople existed, an incomplete body with only four senses?¹⁶

The *De ecclesiae* then attempts to show how Rome intervened in Eastern affairs. The Synod of Chalcedon is put forward as the best example of Roman intervention. Pope Leo approved its canons, save for number 28, which in his mind attempted to rewrite what had been done at Nikaia. Leo would not agree that Pontos and Asia should be taken from Antioch nor Thrace from Rome because of a desire to provide Constantinople with a territory of its own.¹⁷

Allatios further downplays Constantinople's ecclesiastical importance as proposed by Gabriel Severos, Nilos Doxiopatrios and Anna Komnene. Anna's statement that at Chalcedon Constantinople was given precedence over all the churches of Christendom can only be explained by her dismal geographical knowledge. She must be thinking that Asia, Pontos and Thrace encompass the whole world!

Allatios goes a step further to belittle the claims of Constantinople's see. He does not believe the bishop of the city should bear the title of patriarch. On this matter, he quotes Peter of Antioch's letter to the Archbishop of Grado and Nilos Doxiopatrios. Even Balsamon, according to Allatios, believes Constantinople's proper title is archbishop. To be an important churchman, to hold a superior rank in the hierarchy, Constantinople's bishop needs far more dioceses within his jurisdiction than he received at Chalcedon. All efforts in the Middle Ages to enhance his position were only moderately successful. Whenever possible, the other Eastern churches saw to their own affairs without recourse to the patriarchate.¹⁸

The pope's power as successor to Peter is superior to all other authorities, religious and secular. The emperor in the past may have summoned councils and attended their meetings, but "he is merely a layman and a secular person" and was not allowed to participate in doctrinal discussions. Now that there is no emperor, it is obvious that

¹⁶ *De ecclesiae*, 1.15, cols. 218-31; 16, cols. 238-40.

¹⁷ *De ecclesiae*, 1.16, cols. 245-48.

¹⁸ *De ecclesiae*, 1.18, cols. 262-74.

councils should be summoned by the pope—a right which he always possessed. It is his confirmation of a council's acts which gives the decisions taken there the full impact of law.¹⁹

The first book of the *De ecclesiae* ends with a discussion of the importance given to the Council in Trullo. Allatios chides Balsamon for counting it among the ecumenical synods while continuing to speak of the Eastern church's faith based upon the seven synods.²⁰

Book Two of the *De ecclesiae* provides a history from the ninth century when the *filioque* arose, until the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Much of the material here, as might be expected, deals with Patriarch Photios' approach to the credal emendation. In Allatios' opinion, the issue can be traced as far back as Nestorios and how he viewed the nature of the Logos. Allatios quotes John of Damascus' statement that one should not say the Holy Spirit is also ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ but argues that John and Photios were not really talking about the same thing. Allatios is agreeable to phrasing the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Son by stating He proceeds "through the Son."²¹

Allatios has absolutely nothing good to say about Photios, "the cause of so much evil in the Greek church that neither before nor after has anyone been seen or heard so pernicious and so damnable among schismatics, either Greek or Latin."²² The synod of 879 which restored Photios obviously was at fault. Anyone who seeks to call it the Eighth Synod is deceived. In this opinion Allatios' judgment runs contrary to the accepted Catholic position.

Several chapters in the *De ecclesiae* continue the controversy that surrounded Photios in the Middle Ages. Allatios followed the generally held opinion among his contemporaries that the "schism" between the churches began in the ninth century. Relatively little importance is given in Allatios' work to the excommunication of Michael Keroularios.²³ The author attacks Maximos Margounios for his views on Photios. This Greek prelate spoke of him as "*divinissimus*." He was surely not "*divinissimus*" for Allatios who claims that Margounios' *Dialogue of the Greeks with the Latins* has confused the facts. Allatios has no respect for Margounios' scholarship.²⁴

When discussing the Fourth Crusade, Allatios is true to his Greek heritage. He condemns Venice and the Franks for their invasion of

¹⁹ *De ecclesiae*, 1.23, cols. 374, 402-405

²⁰ *De ecclesiae*, 1.27, cols. 455-56, 471.

²¹ *De ecclesiae*, 2.1, cols. 515-17.

²² *De ecclesiae*, 2.5, col. 552.

²³ *De ecclesiae*, 2.8, cols. 615-25; See Francis Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Papacy* (New York, 1966) pp. 101-23 for a contemporary Catholic view.

²⁴ *De ecclesiae*, 2.5-8, cols. 566-610

Greek lands and the replacement of Greek clergy by Latins. The expulsion of the patriarch of Antioch was a serious blunder and is singled out for criticism.²⁵ The Latin presence served to divide the Christian people of the East into factions—those who supported the Latins and those who opposed them—in an altogether reprehensible way.²⁶

In time, Allatios notes, relations between the Latins and Easterners improved. Intermarriage became more frequent and even in the exiled imperial court of Nikaia Latins were welcomed.²⁷ The *De ecclesiae* praises the wisdom of Emperor Michael Palaiologos, who sought better church relations. He and his clerics, Nikephoros Blemmydes and John Bekkos, get high marks from the author. A deterioration in the relations between the churches became evident, however, when those Greeks who favored intercommunion began to suffer persecution, such as George Metochites whom Emperor Andronikos had imprisoned and then exiled for his unionist sympathies.²⁸

Allatios has little sympathy for Gregory Palamas whom he feels may have fallen into heresy. Long sections from the writings of Palamas are presented to the reader so that an individual judgment might be rendered. On the other hand he faults Palamas' opponent Barlaam for his lack of acquaintance with Greek theology. In his early years, Barlaam would not accept the *filioque* theology of the Latin church, but after his condemnation in Constantinople he returned to Italy and changed his opinion. Allatios finds in Barlaam an opportunist, a political ecclesiastic who adapted too easily to his environment once he discovered his only hope for an ecclesiastical career was in the West.²⁹

Allatios' story reaches the Renaissance and the migration of Byzantine intellectuals to the West as the shadow cast by the Turks grew more menacing. He discusses the work of Chrysoloras, Gazo, Musuros, Kalekas and Kydonis. Those who accepted the Latin theology are naturally held up for praise and their opponents, such as Nikolaos Kabasilas, are attacked.³⁰

Book Three of the *De ecclesiae* continues Allatios' account of church history with a description of the Council of Ferrara-Florence. Allatios delights in the consensus reached there between the Latins and Greeks

²⁵ *De ecclesiae*, 2.13, cols. 693-96.

²⁶ *De ecclesiae*, 2.13, col. 702.

²⁷ *De ecclesiae*, 2.14, cols. 707-10.

²⁸ *De ecclesiae*, 2.15, cols. 727-46, 756. Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy* (New Brunswick, 1979) pp. 161-85.

²⁹ *De ecclesiae*, 2.16, cols. 803-10; 17, cols. 839-40; Donald Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium* (New York, 1972) pp. 219-23.

³⁰ *De ecclesiae*, 2.18, cols. 855-70.

which allowed the Western church its *filioque* without requiring it of the Greeks. The fatal flaw, of course, was the intransigence of Mark of Ephesos to sign his name to the act of union. After the Greek delegation's return to Constantinople, Mark's agitation against the Council discredited it beyond anyone's imagination.

Allatios deplores Mark's success with his countrymen and complains bitterly that Greek theology and practice had in no way been compromised by the delegation at Florence. Both Latins and Greeks had explored patristic sources and found them sufficiently broad so as to accommodate the Latin understanding of the Holy Spirit's procession. Mark's charge that the Greeks had been won over because of Latin "gifts" Allatios claims is nothing but a "barefaced lie." "How," he asks, "could the Latins corrupt the fathers whose texts were produced to justify the credal emendation?" Allatios notes that Bessarion made a thorough investigation of Saint Basil's manuscripts in order to be certain of the exact reading.³¹

Allatios also rejects Mark's charge that some who signed the *Acta* had not been in good faith, but had perjured themselves. "In no way," the author asserts, "is there any evidence to support this allegation." Perhaps George Scholarios had his doubts and only reluctantly agreed to the joint statement on union, but he and Mark were alone; the only ones who held out against the Latins.

Florence, according to the *De ecclesiae* had been a success, a victory for those who believed strongly in the need for a united church. It was truly ecumenical, with both churches ably represented by their best bishops and theologians. The emperor and his aides supported it, for they, too, had been convinced by the strength of the patristic texts which quoted both Eastern and Western fathers supportive of a double procession.³² Allatios dismisses the charge that the Greeks at Florence had been misled. If this is the case, the author contends, then the leadership of the Greek nation had perpetrated a massive deception upon the people, which Allatios asserts was unthinkable.³³ The men who signed the decree of union, such as Bessarion and Patriarch Joseph, were honorable men. Unfortunately, since Bessarion remained in Italy and Joseph was dead, the pro-union party lacked leadership which allowed Mark, "led by an evil spirit, or better, many of such spirits" to win.³⁴

After Constantinople's fall, Gennadios (Scholarios' monastic name) became patriarch. Once a proponent of union, Scholarios had moved

³¹ *De ecclesiae*, 3 1, cols. 875-92.

³² *De ecclesiae*, 3 2, cols. 902-20.

³³ *De ecclesiae*, 3.2, cols. 923-26.

³⁴ *De ecclesiae*, 3.3, cols. 927-28; Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959) pp. 395-97.

into Mark's camp and was chosen for the office because of his well-known anti-Latin sentiments. Allatios points out that much of the literature on Florence fails to identify Gennadios with Scholarios, who approved the union of the churches at the council.³⁵

The tone of Allatios' writing, which tended to be generally moderate in his history of the churches as long as he discussed relations between Rome and Constantinople, rises to shrillness as he approaches the seventeenth century and the efforts of the Protestants to poison relations between Rome and Constantinople. Kyrillos Loukaris is judged the captive of these "heretics," a man who had mixed Calvinism with Orthodoxy in a disastrous corruption of true religion. Even as he writes, Allatios laments, Nathaniel of Kanopios, synkellos of the Great Church of Constantinople, is in Amsterdam after returning from London. He has met with Protestant leaders in both cities, and is now planning how to introduce their ideas into the Eastern church.³⁶

Having sketched the history of Christendom to his day, Allatios presents a description of the current state of the Greek church. He speaks of its high regard for monasticism and the importance of icons for its worship. Miracles are still to be observed in Eastern churches: Allatios personally knows of a lamp which burns in the church of Christogitonissa on Chios. Each night it is extinguished and the church is locked. Yet when the church is opened in the morning, the lamp is burning and has a new supply of oil.

Greeks and Latins on Chios share their feast days and venerate the images of the saints in each other's churches. Throughout the Aegean, whether one is Catholic or Orthodox, all receive the same sacraments, fast and abstain during the holy seasons, hold to the faith of the seven synods, share the same patristic tradition, and, except for the *filioque*, recite the same creed. Catholics and Orthodox treat each other as friends and brothers, both attend the schools of the friars. Bishop Guistiniani Massone has offered the Latin Mass in the Nea Moni monastery.³⁷

Recently, Allatios admits, due to the mischief of Kyrillos Loukaris and others from the patriarchate, relations between the two communities have turned sour. Allatios returns to a second diatribe against Loukaris, "born of obscure and miserable parents on Crete" who hates Catholics and has done so much to ruin the goodwill formerly shared between the two Christian communities of the Aegean.³⁸

³⁵ *De ecclesiae*, 3.4, cols. 962-63; 6, cols. 970-71.

³⁶ *De ecclesiae*, 3.8, cols. 1013-28.

³⁷ *De ecclesiae*, 3.9, cols. 1048-51; 10, cols. 1057-59.

³⁸ *De ecclesiae*, 3.11, cols. 1062-90.

Winding down his presentation, Allatios affirms that his study has proven that the doctrine of the Greek and Latin churches is essentially one and the same. Legitimate differences exist in custom, worship and canon law, but these are incidental to the substance of religion. Individual Greeks have become schismatic and held opinions contrary to the common faith of Christendom, but never the whole church.³⁹

For centuries Greeks and Latins lived side by side on Chios and other Greek islands in mutual respect. Allatios notes that the situation is similar to the monasteries in the Holy Land, where each community has its own regimen and traditions but all are united in a common faith.

There has always been a healthy diversity among the Christian churches since New Testament times, but “. . . the canon of faith or doctrinal statements can never change. Even the judgment of an ecumenical synod can make no alterations here. But beyond matters of faith, that is, in areas concerning disciplinary questions, custom or particular law, even if considered immutable, change is possible either by decision of an ecumenical synod or papal decree.”⁴⁰

Allatios concludes his lengthy volume with responses to recent Protestant and Catholic authors writing on matters dealing with the Greek church. He charges that David Chytraeus, a Lutheran author, is altogether wrong in his efforts to prove the similarity of Lutheranism and Orthodoxy. Each of Chytraeus' allegations is examined and then rejected.⁴¹

Catholic writers are also taken to task. He charges that Paul Gryssald (Gryssaldus), a Dominican author, makes no distinction between Greeks who have held the true faith and those who were individual schismatics. Gryssald's *Decisiones fidei catholicae et apostolicae*, published in 1582, had earned its author the title, “Hammer against the Greeks,” but Allatios claims the book is of dubious worth. Another polemical author Antonio Caucus, once Latin archbishop of Kerkira, has a book, *De haeresibus juniorum Graecorum*, but it, too, is full of misrepresentations. Caucus claims the Greeks have only five sacraments, and that they rebaptize Catholic converts. This is sufficient evidence, says Allatios, to dismiss his opinions.⁴²

A Carmelite friar, named Guido, has charged that Greeks believe

³⁹ *De ecclesiae*, 3. 12, cols. 1102-08.

⁴⁰ *De ecclesiae*, 3. 13, col. 1161. See Kallistos Ware, “Orthodox and Catholics in the Seventeenth Century: Schism or Intercommunion?” in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, Derek Baker, ed. Vol. 11 of *Studies in Church History* (Cambridge, 1972) pp. 262-63, 271

⁴¹ *De ecclesiae*, 3. 15, cols. 1181-85. Chytraeus, born in 1531, was co-author of the Lutheran Formula of Concord. His work, *Oratio*, was published in 1578.

⁴² *De ecclesiae*, 3. 16, cols. 1254-60; 1262

it permissible to lie to one's enemies and wish them evil. Allatios indignantly asks where he received such information, indeed, "This impudent man slanders all Greeks."

Allatios' work was meant to demonstrate the religious harmony between the Greek and Latin people, and so to end the animosity between them. He wanted people to concentrate on the substance of religion rather than on peripheral matters which appeared due to different cultural traditions. He said it best when he noted that Greeks and Latins cross themselves differently, but neither way is more nor less correct. It is the cross that matters.

Allatios' goal was not achieved in the seventeenth century. The Orthodox remained fixed in their opinion of Western waywardness and many Catholic authors found his work too accommodating to the Greeks. They claimed the *De ecclesiae* lacked focus and discrimination; its author read a great deal but without understanding. Allatios suffered the fate of those who would be peacemakers, but his monument to ecumenism, the *De ecclesiae*, may still in the future serve as a major contribution to the dialogue between the churches.

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**The
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ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

A complex personality is always seen and perceived by people from within their limited and subjective perspectives.

Certainly, this pertains to Archbishop Iakovos in whose honor the four 1984 issues of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* are dedicated. Former parishioners at Boston's Annunciation Cathedral continue to see him, after so many years, as their "Pater," their parish priest. Those who met him in the wide-ranging ecumenical arena of the last thirty or so years view him as a man who has managed to meld a fierce loyalty to Greek Orthodoxy with an openness of heart in the best spirit of ecumenism. In the same manner, his priests, the representatives of his beloved Ecumenical Patriarchate, Greek nationals, Orthodox Christians of all ethnic backgrounds, media people, church youth, Archdiocese leaders, including bishops and persons responsible for the Church's programs and institutions, view him through different spectacles, each with a unique set of reflections and refractions.

So it is with those involved in the study, teaching and practice of Orthodox theology. For us, Archbishop Iakovos has been a patron, a committed supporter, a goad who provokes us to new concerns, a spiritual presence who makes us demand much of ourselves, and an inspiration to continue to make Orthodox Christianity a vital force in the ecclesial, spiritual and intellectual life of our times. Among the many honors accorded to Archbishop Iakovos this fiftieth year of his ordination and twenty-fifth year as Archbishop of North and South America, let the twenty-ninth volume of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* stand as a perpetual monument to honor something even more than his own theological insight and perspicacity. Let it stand as a grateful symbol of appreciation, from those whose task in life is and has been the cultivation of Orthodox theology. Let it stand as a grateful symbol of appreciation for the opportunities he has given us, and for the challenges with which he has confronted us.

Stanley S. Harakas
Associate Editor

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**The
Greek
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**Volume 29
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Spring 1984**

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ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

For the Greek Orthodox Church in the Americas, 1984 is a jubilee year. The entire Church is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Archbishop Iakovos' ordination to the priesthood and his twenty-fifth as Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. No other Orthodox hierarch has served longer or with greater distinction and success in the Americas.

The Greek Orthodox Theological Review is especially pleased to note this happy anniversary because Archbishop Iakovos has been the *Review's* chief patron throughout his tenure as archbishop. In addition, the Archbishop has generously supported with church as well as personal funds the academic development of scores of scholars, as well as a host of academic projects and publications which have contributed significantly to scholarship in the areas of theology, history, literature, music, and art.

It is with a great deal of pride and thanks, therefore, that we dedicate the four numbers of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* for 1984 to him and wish him many, many years: Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα.

N. M. Vaporis
Editor

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Matthew the Poor. *The Communion of Love*. Foreword by Henri J. Nouwen. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984. Pp. 234. \$8.95, paperbound.

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Allen Verhey. *The Great Reversal: Ethics and the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1984. Pp. 246. \$13.95, paperbound.

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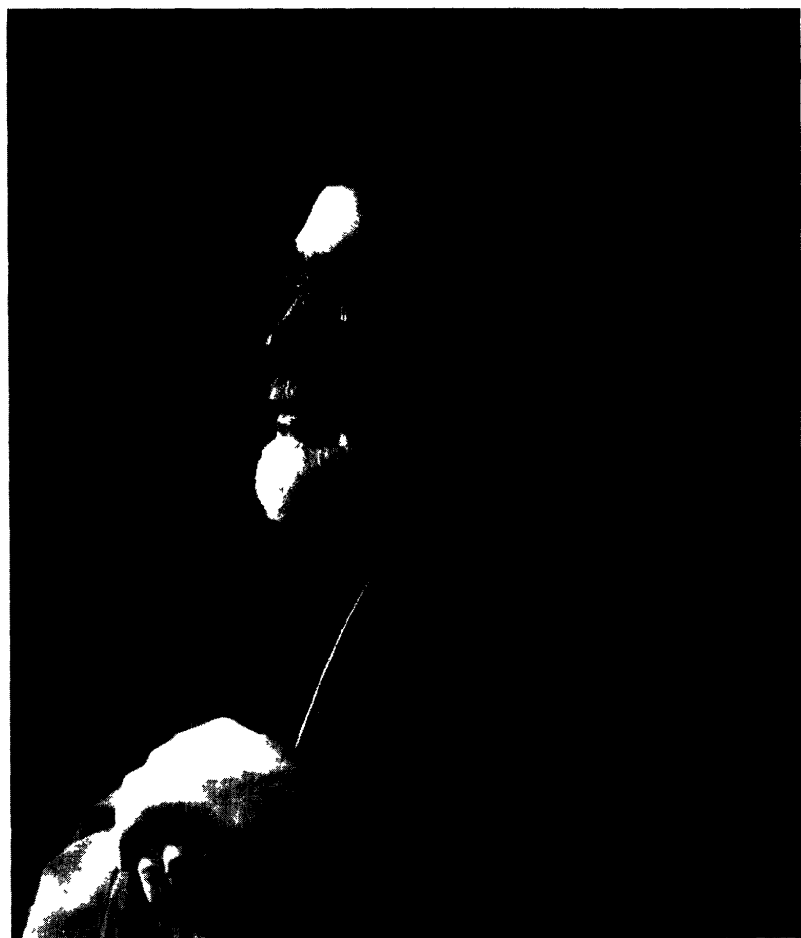
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ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

For twenty-five years Archbishop Iakovos has been the preeminent personality who has shaped, sustained, and advanced Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and its theological journal, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*. Characterized by intelligence, competence, humor, energy, and a great Christian spirit, Archbishop Iakovos has been the driving force behind our endeavor. He stands as a bright candle shedding light during the darkest hours and inspires us to reach further heights. He has touched all who have labored on the "Sacred Hill": trustees, benefactors, administrators, faculty, students, staff and friends; those with us and those who have passed on. Simply, his contributions have been monumental and they shall be his memorial to those who follow us. Thus, on the occasion of his fiftieth year as a priest and his twenty-fifth anniversary as Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Americas, we dedicate this second number of the 1984 *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* with deep appreciation, respect and love, and with our prayers for his continued well-being.

Thomas C. Lelon

Foreword

Nancy P. Ševčenko

THE FIRST FIVE articles in this issue of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* were originally presented as papers at the 1983 Byzantine Studies Conference held at Duke University in Durham, N.C. Two other papers delivered at that session are not being published here (George Stričević, "An Early Byzantine Relief from Sirmium"; and Robert Ousterhout, "The Byzantine Holy Sepulchre"), but it is hoped these, too, will appear in print sometime in the near future.

It is not always easy for us today to recognize a Byzantine tomb when we see it. If we only knew a little more clearly what we were looking for, we might well discover sides or lids of tombs among the numerous "chancel barrier slabs" lying disused around churchyards, and tomb sites in the little niches and odd corners which we now barely notice when visiting a Byzantine church. Even some frescoes, which seem at first merely part of an overall church program, may turn out to have specific connections with lost tombs below.

In short, the more information about Byzantine burial places, rites and tomb decoration we can assemble, the more tombs we are likely to find. I, therefore, wish to thank Father Nomikos Vaporis, editor of the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, for the assistance he has rendered this cause by agreeing to publish this particular group of articles.

various social and national activities.

Of the fifty contributors to the present volume, all but four are in Greek; two by D. D. Moukanos and C. G. Niarchos are in English, while M. Sesan's contribution is in German.

The contents are as follows: Andreas Theodorou "Prologue" (7-8); "The members of the Committee for the Celebration of the Academic Jubilees and Ecclesiastical Activity of Professor G. J. Konidares" (p. 9); "Encyclical of the Committee" (10-13); "Program for the Day of Celebration" (14); Official Letters by Church, Academic and State Authorities, (15-24); Vlasios J. Pheidas, "Gerasimos J. Konidares, Life-Work-Activity" (27-44); Spyridon D. Kontogiannes, "Gerasimos J. Konidares, A Bibliography, (1925-1981)" (45-100); G. B. Antourakes, "Burial, Cremation and Resurrection of the Dead, Messages From Tradition and Art" (3-26); G. Th. Vergotes, "The Liturgical Year, and the Preaching of Salvation Today" (27-40); John E. Volanakes, "Ancient Christian Monuments of the Dodecanese I. Rhodes-Kalymnos-Telendos" (41-63); B. N. Giannopoulos, "Is Origen Anathematized?" (64-79); D. B. Gones, "The Founding Date of the Pantocrator Monastery in Mount Athos" (80-95); Andreas Theodorou, "The Encyclical Education in Saint Clement of Alexandria" (96-114); Theodore B. Gedakes, Metropolitan of Lampe and Sfakia, "The Seat of the Primus in the Church of Crete during the Second Byzantine Period (961-1204 A.D.)" (115-25); Iakovos, former Archbishop of Athens, "The Archbishop of Athens and All Greece Chrysostomos Papadopoulos (1868-1938), as an Administrator and a Person," (126-37); Constantine Kalokyres, "Presuppositions for the Renewal of Orthodox Church Architecture" (138-55); John M. Konidares, "The Typikon of Pakourianos and the Priestly School of the Petritzos Monastery (156-69); Spyridon D. Kontogiannis, "The Antimensions of the Skevophylakion in the Exarchy of the Holy Sepulchre in Athens" (170-95); George M. Kordas, "The Prophets in the Chronicle on the Fall of Constantinople by Doukas" (196-251); John Chr. Constantinides, "A Synoptic Presentation of Greek Theology" (252-64); Evangelos Mantzouneas, "The Position of the State in Relation to the Catholic Church and to Heretics in the Period of the Ecumenical Synods" (265-80); George D. Metallenos, "The Three Hierarchs 'Patrons' of the Ionian Academy" (281-96); Nicholaos E. Mitsopoulos, "The Church Faces Her Enemies on the Basis of Her Threefold (Prophetic, Priestly, Royal) Function" (304-11); Demetrios D. Moukanos, "Das Wirken des Gottlichen Geistes in Geschichtsphilosophischer Sicht" (312-20); Panayotes J. Boumes, "The Marriage of the Bishops (Concordance of the Holy Scriptures and Holy Canons)" (321-34); Constantine G. Niarchos, "The Franciscans in Oxford: Their Influence on the Developing Studies of Aristotle" (335-51); Demetrios J. Pallas,

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Vasil T. Istavridis

Χρυσοστόμου Θέμελη, Μητροπολίτου Μεσσηνίας, 'Ο Εὐβοεύς Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Γρηγόριος Ζιγαβηνός (1835-1910) [The Euboian Archimandrite Gregorios Zigabenos, 1835-1910]. By Chrysostomos Themelis, Metropolitan of Messenia. Athens, 1981. Pp. 110.

Gregorios Zigabenos, after completing his studies, was appointed professor of theology at the Theological School of Chalke (1872-

1883/1884), where he taught the courses of Pastoral Theology, Canon Law and Homiletics. From 1884 to 1910, the year of his death, he served as priest in the Greek Orthodox community of Marseilles, France. Although he was elected bishop by the Synod of the Church of Greece, he preferred to remain and die as a priest.

The author divides his study in two parts: "Life" (pp. 6-16), where he presents the life and activities of Zigabenos; and the most original, "Writings" (pp. 17-104), where he discusses Zigabenos' numerous scholarly works (seventeen in number).

Vasil T. Istavridis

Bibliography on Orthodox Theology 2: Books and Articles Available in Libraries of the World Council of Churches and the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey in English, French, and German, 1968-1975. Geneva, 1980. Pp. 15.

Since its founding in 1946, the Ecumenical Institute of Bossey has been functioning as the main academic center of the World Council of Churches in which future leaders of the Christian world attend a semester of graduate studies which include seminars, conferences, and other academic activities.

The institute's libraries, one located at the Ecumenical Center in Geneva and the other at Bossey, are considered the two best institutions of their kind related to ecumenical studies.

The two bibliographical guides, Volume 1 (1968); 2 (1968-1975), which include books and articles available in the above two libraries in English, French and German are of great help to Orthodoxy in general and to its Church and theology in particular.

It is possible to say that these two libraries, the library of the Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Chambesy, near Geneva, and that of the University of Geneva, include a considerable collection of books and other material for the study of Orthodoxy and her relations to the ecumenical movement.

The two bibliographical guides serve those who attend the different courses at Bossey interested in Orthodoxy, and the participants in the yearly seminar of Orthodox Spirituality and Theology. The first catalogue of forty-five pages lists books in French, English, and German, the three official languages of the Ecumenical Institute. The second catalogue of fifteen pages technically has the same characteristics as the first.

We hope to see Volume 3 of the *Bibliography on Orthodox Theology* in the very near future.

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ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

This fourth and last number of the 1984 *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* is also dedicated to Archbishop Iakovos with deep respect, affection, and appreciation on the occasion of the year long celebration of his two anniversaries: the fiftieth year of his ordination to the sacred priesthood and the twenty-fifth year of his election and enthronement as Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese.

Holy Cross has been the 'seminary' of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese since its founding at Pomfret, Connecticut in 1937. Few people have influenced its course and destiny as has Archbishop Iakovos. He correctly calls the seminary his home and several generations of Holy Cross graduates his spiritual sons. The lives of the institution and the man have been intertwined for forty-five years.

Soon after its establishment, Holy Cross welcomed into its bosom Father Iakovos Coucouzes, a fledgling scholar and instructor from the Polis. The talented, exuberant, and charismatic young priest quickly became a campus personality, and a brother and friend to many of the school's early graduates.

Later, when Father Iakovos became the Dean of the Annunciation Cathedral in Boston, he was struck by the rich educational resources, the cultural experiences, and the wide variety of opportunities that the city could offer the future clergy of the Church. He was convinced that Holy Cross belonged in Boston. He became a prime advocate for the transfer of the seminary and helped Bishop Kavvadas and the trustees to locate and buy the Weld Estate in Brookline with its serene beauty and panoramic view of Boston. The move from Pomfret to Brookline was accomplished between 1946-47. Through the years he has encouraged the Holy Cross community to be the guardians of the faith and the pioneers in theological scholarship and activity.

Archbishop Iakovos has generously and graciously lent his support to various educational programs, symposia, and other events that enrich the learning experiences of our students and enhance the image of our school. He has made it possible for personalities of international reputation to visit and lecture at the school. He has also supported the school's program of continuing education for the parish clergy.

A frequent visitor to the campus, the Archbishop consults with the faculty and interacts with the students. A man of diverse gifts, he is perceived by the students as an inspirational and directive force in the life of our Church. They know that through his leadership Orthodoxy has moved with vigor and intensity upon the American scene.

Alkiviadis C. Calivas
Dean, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

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The Mystery of Death

NICOLAOS P. VASSILIADES

“CHRIST IS RISEN” (Χριστὸς ἀνέστη). In this way we Orthodox greet one another for forty days, that is, from the day of the Resurrection until the day of the Ascension; and those whom we greet reply, “Indeed, he is risen” (Ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη). In these four words is contained all the theology of the cross and resurrection of the Orthodox Church. With these words as well, we acknowledge the triumph of the Risen One over death and hell, and we express our ineffable joy for the world-saving victory of Christ.

The emotive problem of death, which is the shadow of every earthly being, plagues man alone. It is man alone in all of creation who realizes his own death; and when he perceives that he sooner or later will meet death, it becomes the gravest and most grievous phenomenon of his life. Death comes to each one of us only once. Nevertheless, we fear it every day. Even though it is the most certain event of our life, we refuse to be reconciled to it. Many, however, try not to think about it. The Roman Catholic Hans Küng wrote succinctly: “Our era has dealt with death as a taboo just as the Victorian age dealt with sex as a taboo.” Our civilization has developed as a civilization which, although it marches toward death, nevertheless denies death. For that reason, man creates as his goal elixirs to avoid death; but whether we like it or not, death is, according to Saint John Chrysostom, an “unflattering executioner,” who challenges us continually to remember that our present life is ephemeral and transitory. In spite of our reactions, it challenges us to inquire: “What is the mystery which has befallen us? How is it that we have been given to decay and been joined with death?” as the observer of the mysteries of God, Saint John of Damascus, asked. Why does man “bluster as a storm and land as dust? Why is he like a fanned flame that becomes diffused as smoke?” Or as the divine Chrysostom asks: “like an embellished flower that dries up as

grass?"¹ That is to say, death places before us problems of supreme importance: The problem of the existence of God, the problem of justice and God's love, and the problem of our earthly existence and our destiny after death. Moreover, it challenges us to inquire: Is death an end or a beginning? Is it impassable or is there a way out toward another life? Is there, perhaps, new life after this life?

These questions about the mystery of death have plagued man from the very beginning. I will neither dwell on how the Orphic myth and the Olympian religion saw death, nor how the Greek tragedian poets saw it, nor how the Pythagoreans, Cynics or Stoics saw it. I only emphasize that Plato literally toiled in his dialogue "Phaedo" to illustrate death as something good, to make it desirable to us, and to involve us in fruitful cogitation. Thanks to Plato, the study of death became an endearing theme to philosophers, because "philosophy" was defined by Socrates as the "study of death," and the entire life of a philosopher is a "study of death."²

A general consideration of secular philosophy and various ideological currents informs us that naturalism supports the idea about death that all events are a rhythmic alternation of life and death. Romanticism sees death with an attitude of mysticism. "Modern" pedagogy prefers to be silent; it would like to address immortal beings. Freudianism and existentialism confront death with pessimism and melancholy. Atheism is unable to provide an answer. Slaves of passion consider the dead annoying and deliver them to oblivion, or they rebel with wild spite against eternity. The timid use ornaments and lies to exorcise death. Others say: "Today, when we have a clear mechanistic interpretation of nature and our being, it is folly to concern ourselves with metaphysics and life after the grave."

It is evident, however, that no one has faced death with indifference, because from the moment we came into the world we became candidates for death. Various religions give some answer to the problem of death. The questions of death, though, regarding the mystery of death and our fear of it are excellently solved by the Orthodox view of the mystery of death. This is because Orthodoxy preserves as whole and unadulterated the "faith which was once delivered unto the saints" (Jude 3).

Orthodox theology in its examination of the mystery of death has three guides:

- 1) Since she is the "Church of the Bible," she draws upon the

¹ John Chrysostom, *On the Prophetic Saying*, PG 55.560.

² 61E-67D, 80E-81A.

God-inspired holy Scriptures which are interpreted within the Church and by the Church, guided by the apostolic tradition and the wisdom of the Fathers of the Church.

2) The treasure of holy tradition is the life of the Holy Spirit within the Church. The content of the tradition is "the delivered logos,"³ "the life of us Christians which began within the Church of Christ, through the Apostles, by the descent of the Holy Spirit."⁴ Holy tradition, writes Saint Athanasios the Great, is "from the beginning one tradition, teaching and faith" of the Church, which on "the one hand the Lord gave and, on the other hand, the Apostles preached and the Fathers guarded." On this tradition the Church has been founded.⁵ This is why holy tradition is alive for Orthodoxy, of equal weight, and an equipoised spring of the divine truth in relationship with holy Scripture.

3) Our third guide is the Fathers of the Church. Their teaching comes from their inner, personal, and holy experience. They penetrated the sacred area of theology with a disposition to learn and accept self-discipline with katharsis, humility, and the fear of God. In the words of Saint John of Sinai: "Let us endeavor to learn the divine through sweat rather than through dry words."⁶ The Fathers were οἱ πάσχοντες θέωσιν,⁷ that is, they strongly desired and struggled hard to "become partakers of divine nature" (2 Pet 1.4). The Fathers taught what they lived, and they lived what they taught. Because "they were enlightened by the light of divine knowledge, they penetrated the secret depths of the Holy Spirit; and because, being full of God, they investigated whatever was related to God,"⁸ we recognize them as valid and authentic sources in order to verify the content of the holy Scriptures and the apostolic tradition.

Certainly, entering the mystery of death is a daring deed. We venture however with much prayer because we are strengthened by the

whatever anyone accomplishes by his own might.”⁹

The tragic venture of man which began with the fall of Eden is interwoven with the assassination of Abel. Until then, death had not caught anyone. Its first victim was Abel, a righteous person and a martyr (Gen 4.8). Lord Byron in his dramatic work “Cain” depicted fratricide at the moment Cain looked upon the pale and expressionless face of Abel and tried to lift Abel’s frozen hands which fell like lead. He cried out, terrified, “Death has come to the world!”

The God-inspired book of Genesis writes: “The Lord God formed man from the dust of the ground”; and into that dust of the ground, into that clay, He “breathed the breath of life; and man became a living soul” (Gen 2.7). I shall not discuss the unexplored mystery that surrounds the unity of the two natures of man nor the indescribable and unspotted purity and happiness of Adam and Eve in that blessed place which Moses, inspired by God, termed paradise,¹⁰ nor what preceded our rebellion against God in paradise. I shall only point out that rational man with the guileful urging of the deceitful devil transgressed the divine, benevolent command of God freely and without force. Misled, man believed that he would gain equality with God by means of self-power, but the result was that he suffered whatever the devil suffered. Although man thought he was going to obtain more good after his rebellion, he immediately lost even what he had had before¹¹ because God’s threat: “But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat; for in the day that thou eatest of it, thou shalt surely die” (Gen 2.17) became a reality. Sin separated man from God, from absolute life, and from the principle of life itself. The “eating” of the forbidden fruit resulted in “death’s becoming mother of men.”¹² From the moment Adam and Eve were alienated from “real life,” namely God, “on that same day the decision for death was confirmed.”¹³ “Immediately, Adam and Eve were stripped of their immortal vesture.”¹⁴ As a result of his disobedience, “the soul of Adam was put to death, being separated from God.”¹⁵ There was born spiritual death or the death of the soul, that bitter fruit of sin,

⁹Ibid. 43.82; PG 36.604.

¹⁰John Chrysostom, *Homily on 1 Corinthians 17.3*, PG 61.143; Athanasios, *Against the Greeks*, BEPES 30, 36 (4-6).

¹¹John Chrysostom, *Homily 16 on Genesis*, 3-4, PG 53.129-30; Idem, *Homily 17 on Genesis*, 3-4, PG 137-38; *Homily 18 on Genesis 2*, PG 53.151; *Homily 59 on Matthew 1*, PG 58.575; *Homily 15 on Matthew 2*, PG 57.224; *Homily 9 on John 2*, PG 59.72.

¹²Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Creation of Man* 20, PG 44.200.

¹³Gregory of Nyssa, *To Eunomios*, *Homily 2*, PG 45.545

¹⁴Symeon the New Theologian, *Homily 1.2*; *Homily 66.3*.

¹⁵Gregory Palamas, “To Xene” in *Philokalia* 4, 93.

dominated by "the ruler of the darkness of this world" (Eph 6.12), "having the power of death" (Heb 2.14). Since then, inasmuch as we serve sin, we are dead even though our biological death has not yet come.¹⁶

Beyond that painful condition of spiritual death, however, there exists perpetual, everlasting, and eternal death of the soul which alienates us eternally from God. This irreparable evil, the culmination of all evil, Saint Chrysostom calls "immortal (or undying) death" (*θάνατον ἀθάνατον*).¹⁷ As long as spiritual death dominated human nature, it caused it to disintegrate also as a psychosomatic entity and the result was "deadness." Since then, "it is appointed for men to die once" (Heb 9.27). Since then, "we have inherited dead life, so to say." Since then, "our life has passed away; because the life since then for us is dead, immediately, obviously and entirely; it is deprived of immortality."¹⁸ Therefore, corporal death which is a consequence of spiritual death has become a natural and universal phenomenon.

Orthodox theology, however, is very optimistic about death. Although death is the bitter fruit of our transgression, nevertheless bodily death has been characterized by the holy Fathers as being of great benefit and advantage to us for four reasons:

1) Death halts our remaining in the sinful state. God has not inhibited the dissolution, the separation of the body and soul, "in order that evil shall not become immortal,"¹⁹ according to Saint Gregory the Theologian. In other words, God made the accommodation so that punishment for transgression would, in the end, become salvation. "The heavenly Judge combined punishment with very great, divine love towards humanity," observed Saint Cyril of Alexandria.²⁰

2) Further, the Lord benefited us with corporal death because He suppressed our arrogance, the greatest of all evils. We see death, yet many have dared to proclaim themselves gods! What would happen, though, if we did not die? Consequently, with the decomposition of the body, God, at the very beginning,²¹ established the

¹⁶Cyril of Alexandria, *On Isaiah* 9, 1-3, PG 70.248.

¹⁷John Chrysostom, *Homily on John* 5.4, PG 59.59.

¹⁸N. P. Vassiliades, *Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θανάτου* (Athens, 1980), pp. 74-75.

¹⁹Theophilus of Antioch, *To Autolykos* 2.26, BEPES 5, 39 (5-6); Gregory of Nyssa, *Homily on Pulcheria*, PG 46.877; Basil the Great, *God is Not the Cause of Evil* 7, PG 31.345; Gregory the Theologian, *Homily* 38.12, PG 36.324.

²⁰Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Incarnation* 6, PG 75.1424.

²¹John Chrysostom, *On the Statutes*, Homily 11.5, PG 49.126; *On Matthew*, Homily 34.4.

“foundation of humility,” a virtue which rendered man beloved *par excellence* by God.

3) The dissolution of the body is benevolence. In this way perishable nature melts in the “crucible of earth” to be purified and brightened with the resurrection, releasing the sensate (αἰσθητὸν)—the body—which, however, “does not disappear.” What does disappear is mortality and not “the substance of the body.”

4) Finally, death opens to us the stage of martyrdom. Therefore, those who undertake, for the sake of the love of God, a martyr’s death accept heavenly and imperishable prizes. Thus, death, “the greatest evil,” which the “devil introduced,” is changed by the most gracious and all-wise Lord into good; and in this way, the Lord guides man to eternal glory.²³

More than that, our good Lord has, from the very beginning, cultivated man’s hope of resurrection by the word he spoke to Adam and Eve: “In the sweat of your face you shall eat bread till you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return” (Gen 3.19). With this, his word, he accepted Adam again near to him, although he had exiled Adam from paradise, for he did not say to him “until you disappear, until you decompose,” but said to him, “I sent you there into the earth from which I received you; just as when I took you from there before, so I am able to take you again. You will not disappear into earth, but you will decompose and you will become earth.” Some interpret the “return” (ἀπόλυσις) as “coming back” (ἐπανέλυσις), which means “you will return again; that is, you will rise from the dead.”²⁴

God continued to cultivate the hope of resurrection by examples. By such examples he informed his creatures that his decision about death was temporary and that death would finally be abolished (Gen 5.21-24; Heb 11.5). Such examples are: the ascension of Enoch and the prophet Elias; the rescue of the prophet Jonah from the belly of the whale; the resurrection of the son of the Shunammite by the prophet Elisha (2 Kg 4.32-37); and the resurrection of the dead Israelite who had touched the bones of the prophet Elisha (2 Kg 13.21). In addition, the examples of the prophets Ezekiel (Ez 18.1-4, 20-37), Isaiah (Is 26.19), and

²²Theophilus of Antioch, *To Autolykos* 2.26, BEPES 5.39 (13-17); Irenaeus, *Fragments* 2, BEPES 5.175 (11-14); Methodios of Olympos, *On the Resurrection* 40, 43, BEPES 18 130 (25-28), 132-33; Gregory the Theologian, *Homily* 18.42, PG 35.1040-41; Gregory of Nyssa, *Great Catechetikos* 8, PG 45 33-36; Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on Matthew* 4, PG 57 403.

²³Chrysostom, *Homily on All Saints* 1, PG 50.707.

²⁴Chrysostom, *Homily on the Sixth Day of Creation* 10, PG 56.499.

Daniel (Dan 12.2) multiplied the hopes of resurrection.

But he, who definitely abolished death, was our Lord Jesus Christ, because he could not bear to see death reign over human beings, as the great Athanasios said, "He received, through the ever-virgin Mary, a body similar to ours; he was born by the Theotokos in a way befitting God, and incomprehensible to us."²⁵

God the Word (Θεός-Λόγος) truly took all of human nature "except sin"; he took it entirely because "that which is not assumed is incurable."²⁶ Only that which has been united with God is saved. This absolute impeccability of the Lord became the mortal blow against both sin and spiritual death. Consequently, the new Adam who saved the old Adam was not only perfect man but perfect God too. Only in this way would "the renewal and revival of the old Adam" succeed.²⁷

The divine incarnation was the commencement and the foundation of the struggle of the God-man against the devil, sin, and death. This is why the Lord, before inflicting the decisive and immortal blow against the devil and death from the cross, gave examples of his authority over death. He raised from the dead the son of the widow of Nain (Lk 7.14), the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, Jairo (Lk 8.54), and Lazaros who was dead for four days (Jn 11.43).

But the victory against death was gained by the voluntary sacrifice on the cross. The sacrifice was offered "for the sake of all nature" and was "capable of saving everybody." The Lord was "once offered and was forever sufficient."²⁸ Certainly the Lord took the sins of all and died for all.²⁹ For our sake he became cursed (Gal 3.14). However, he himself remained "holy according to his nature as God"; he remained "holy and unprofaned."³⁰ The death of our Savior upon the cross constituted the fatal and mortal blow against sin and death because it was the death of the God-man, in whom existed the entire fullness of human nature, which was united in a mysterious way with God the Word. Therefore to be redeemed from the curse of sin and eternal death, "we had need of God who became incarnate and accepted death in order that we may live."³¹ That is why on Saturday in Holy Week we chant, "For behold, he who dwells on high is numbered among the dead and sojourns in a narrow grave." With all of this, the

²⁵ Athanasios, *On the Incarnation* 8, BEPES 30.80-81.

²⁶ Gregory the Theologian, *Homily* 45.9, PG 36.633; *Letter 101 to Kledonios*, PG 37.181-82.

²⁷ Gregory Palamas, *Homily* 52.2.

²⁸ Chrysostom, *Homily on Galatians* 2.8, PG 61.647; *Homily on Hebrews* 17.3, PG 63.131.

²⁹ Athanasios, *On the Incarnation* 20, BEPES 530.90 (42-43).

³¹ Gregory the Theologian, *Homily* 45.48, PG 36.661.

all-holy cross of our Lord became for us the "life-giving tree." It became the mark of the "seal" of our salvation and also the mark of the glory of the God-man. The hymnology of the Orthodox Church, particularly for the Pentecostal period following the Resurrection, has an intensive element of celebration of our redemption from death. The words which express this great truth are repeated and interlaced by the composers of the holy hymns, masterfully and astonishingly dogmatic. From the point of view of the holy Fathers, the laconic phrase of the golden mouth of our Church excellently recapitulates this truth, "From death we have become immortal; those feats are derived from the death on the cross" of our Savior.³²

Nevertheless, the victory of the God-man upon the cross ought to be extended to hell. For this reason, while his all holy body remained in the grave absolutely untouched and imperishable, because it was united substantively with the deity, the Lord descended into hell as ruler, "as soul, as spirit," to preach the evangelical message of salvation to those who had been restrained in the depths of hell (1 Pet 3.19). He descended also to free those souls and to show them the way which leads to their rescue.³³ There, "in the inferno with deity and soul" or with "deified soul,"³⁴ he also preached redemption to those who had died before his crucifixion. The holy Fathers summarize this truth very well. However, let us quote only the expressive passages of Saint Athanasios the Great and Saint Anastasios of Sinai. The first writes: "On one hand, by the soul of God, the ties of death were broken and the resurrection came out of hell and the souls were evangelized. On the other hand, by the body of Christ, corruption was abolished and incorruption was shown from the tomb." The second Father writes: "We have seen Jesus in the tomb, and he had neither soul nor human spirit. We saw him in hell, and he had neither body nor blood nor bones nor material form but had only rational intellectual soul, full of God, separated from the body."³⁵ Certainly that teaching is based on the words of the holy Scripture: Ps 16.10; Acts 2.24, 27-31; 1 Pet 3.18-20; 1 Pet 4.6; Acts 13.36-37; Eph 4.9-10; Rom 14.9. In the divine service of the reverential Good Friday of the Orthodox Church, the triumphal event of the descent of the Lord into hell is exalted more than fifty

³²Chrysostom, *On the Name of the Cemetery and the Cross* 2, PG 49.396; see also *Homily on Holy Pascha* 2, PG 52.768.

³³Athanasios, *Letter to Epikletos of Corinth* 6, BEPES 33.154-55 (35-38, 1-2); Cyril of Alexandria, *On the True Faith* 22, PG 76.1165.

³⁴Epiphanius of Cyprus, *Against Heresies* 20.2, PG 41.276; John of Damascus, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 29, PG 94.1101.

³⁵Athanasios, *Against Apollinarios* Homily 2.15, BEPES 37.294 (28-30); Anastasios of Sinai, *Guide* 13, PG 89.225.

times. During the holy days of the fifty days following Pascha, it is emphasized more than two-hundred times. However, our church celebrates this triumphal event *especially* on Saturday of Holy Week. Certainly these fundamental scriptural truths are inconceivable with our limited reason. It is, therefore, harmful and “very foolish” for anyone to try to search them with questions and human thoughts, according to Saint Cyril of Alexandria.³⁶

Since the Lord conquered death with his “imperishable death” and since he destroyed wickedness and death “with God-like power and authority” without any difficulty,³⁷ he opened to us the way toward incorruption and glory; he confirmed his victory over death by his resurrection on the third day. Therefore, while we men had guided the Son of God to death and sealed him in the tomb, he himself, benevolent and omnipotent, through his death and resurrection and through his bodily ascension, guided us to immortality and glory. While we were dead, not only did he give us life “but he presented us with the honor of divinity and prepared eternal repose,” the magnitude of the gladness of which cannot be conceived by the human intellect.³⁸

The all-wise dispensation and accommodation of God the Father by his Son and Logos, from the Nativity to Ascension of the God-man, is summarized marvelously by Saint Basil the Great, who writes: “He was born of woman, in order to regenerate those who had been born.” He was voluntarily crucified in order to detach and draw out to him those who did not crucify themselves voluntarily. “He voluntarily died in order to raise those who involuntarily died. He admitted death which he did not admit, in order to give life to those who were under the dominion of death. Death devoured Christ without knowing him.” But after devouring him, he knew whom he devoured. “Death devoured life, but was swallowed by life; he devoured the One with all the others, but lost all the others for the One; death seized Christ as a lion, but his teeth were crushed.” For this reason death is despised by us men as weak. We are not afraid of him anymore as a lion, “but we trample on him just as on a hide”!³⁹

Therefore, the sin of Adam and Eve, therefore, “slew mortals but not God.” The resurrection of Christ was a victory not only over his own death but death in general. For this reason we chant: “We celebrate the mortification of death, the deposition of hell, the beginning of another way of life, eternal life.” Although deliverance from eternal

³⁶Cyril of Alexandria, *On the True Faith* 23, PG 76.1165.

³⁷Ibid.; Gregory of Nyssa, *On Holy Pascha*, Homily 1, PG 46.609.

³⁸Basil the Great, *The Long Rules* 2.4, PG 31.916.

³⁹Basil the Great, *To Those who Malign that there Are Three Gods* 4, PG 31.149.

death of all those who believed and believe in the risen One is *immediate*, our deliverance from mortal death is *indirect*, because the poison of death, which sin poured into human nature, still circulates in the main veins of the body. Yet fear and the despair of death and the domination of corruption have already been abolished. Now we live with the certain hope of the resurrection and new life. The Lord, who "became the first-fruits of them that slept," (1 Cor 15.20) affirms that our own resurrection will follow. Or more correctly, the resurrection of our bodies (because the soul is immortal and it continues to live after its separation from the body) and their rebinding with the souls will take place at the second glorious coming of the Lord.

Now we do not die the way we died before the resurrection of the Lord; we do not die with the death that was the result of condemnation of Adam and Eve, because condemnation ceased to exist any longer, since with the grace of the resurrection, corruption has ceased and disappeared. Subsequently, only the mortal part of the body will decay and that at a time which the Lord has appointed for each of us. This happens in order that we might be worthy of a better resurrection, because as seed is sown in the earth and does not disappear, so it is with us; when we die, we do not disappear with dissolution but we will rise as if we have been sown, because death has been abolished with the grace of our Savior "to be able to achieve a better resurrection."⁴⁰

Consequently, the right hand of the Most High had not only worked miracles, but worked them miraculously, too. Because "through death, death is deleted; through the curse, the curse is revoked and benediction has been given." Out of paradise "the virgin Eve expelled us," but "we found life eternal" through the Virgin Theotokos. Our Lord worked these terrible and astonishing deeds: "Death was deleted, hell was burst asunder, paradise was opened, heaven was unfolded, the devil was hushed, hopes of resurrection were renewed, immortal expectations (were opened)."⁴¹

Thanks to the bodily resurrection and ascension of our Lord, there were two more gladsome gifts *par excellence*. First, the resurrection of the body and, second, our theosis.

The resurrection of the body will take place because in the life beyond the grave the whole man must live; the soul along with the body. The psychomatic unity which was broken with death must be reestablished. The holy Fathers, commenting on the words of Saint Paul: "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, so

⁴⁰ Athanasios, *On the Incarnation* 21, BEPES 30.91 (26-33).

⁴¹ Chrysostom, *On Psalms* 44.7, PG 55.193.

that each one may receive good or evil, according to what he has done in the body" (2 Cor 5.10), insist strongly on the resurrection of the body, which will precede the Second Appearance and the Universal Judgment. Saint Cyril of Jerusalem taught that the body will be raised, because all of what we have done, we have done it with the body: "We blaspheme with our mouth, we pray through the mouth; we debauch with the body, we live in chastity through the body; we grasp with the hand; we give charity with the hand," and so on. Because the body had served us in all things, therefore in the future life it will co-enjoy all it "has done."⁴² As long as the body lived together and "followed a way of life together" with the soul on earth, it must "inherit" together with the soul, the "glory which will be given there."⁴³ On the other hand, if there is not resurrection of the body, then the Lord ought not to have given man flesh, nor ought the Son of God to have received flesh.⁴⁴

The resurrection of the body is a certainty because it is guaranteed by the third-day resurrection of the Lord and the assurance of Saint Paul in 1 Cor 15.36-37. This resurrection is possible because nothing is impossible to divine omnipotence. On the other hand, what is easier, creation from nothing or the creation and formation anew from existing matter? As long as God accomplished the first, why can he not accomplish the second, ask the holy Fathers.⁴⁵

The most wonderful reality of all, though, is that the body, which will be raised, will be the same as that which bore the soul on earth. At the same time, though, it will be different because it will have *new attributes*. That is to say, man will not receive an angelic or other form there.⁴⁶ Man, however, will have a body relative to the new condition and environment in which men will live after the resurrection. That body will be "spiritual," "incorruptible," "glorious" (1 Cor 15.42-44), immortal, redeemed from temptation and free from being perishable;⁴⁷ likewise, from demands of the material body (Mt 22.30; Lk 20.35-36; 1 Cor 6.13).

More expressive for the teaching concerning the resurrection of the body is perhaps the laconic phrase of Saint Chrysostom: "Alas, this

⁴²Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* 18.19, BEPES 39.240 (21-26).

⁴³Gregory the Theologian, *Homily* 7.21, PG 35.781-84.

⁴⁴Chrysostom, *On John* 6.3, PG 59.368-69.

⁴⁵Justin Martyr, *On the Resurrection* 5.6, BEPES 4.226-28; Chrysostom, *On the Resurrection of the Dead* 6, PG 50.429 and *On 1 Thessalonians* 7.2, PG 62.436.

⁴⁶Methodios of Olympos, *On the Resurrection* 49, BEPES 18.137 (32-37); Makarios of Egypt, *Spiritual Homilies* 1, BEPES 41.220 (10-16); Chrysostom, *On 1 Corinthians* 42.2, PG 61.364-65.

⁴⁷Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* 18.18, BEPES 39.240 (4-9).

body becomes fashioned to that [body] which sits at the right hand of the Father; to that which is adored by the angels; in front of which are present the incorporeal powers; to that body which is supreme over every principality and authority and power.”⁴⁸

Certainly the brilliance of the bodies concerns only the bodies of the righteous. Because the bodies of those who left earth unrepentant and chose freely the life of rebellion against God will not shine as the others. Their bodies will be incorruptible and eternal, but not glorious.

Secondly, the gift of theosis will be given to us, because God became man not only to save us from sin, but also to restore fully our communion with the Lord, which we had lost. The Lord became man in order that we may become gods, according to Saint Athanasios the Great; or according to Saint Gregory the Theologian, Christ “assumed” the worst, that is, human nature, in order to give us the “best,” *theosis*.⁴⁹

Theosis (which we cannot translate with the word divinization or deification because it means something different and deeper) is not an arbitrary teaching nor a pious longing, because theosis was the aim of all divine creation. Theosis was the final truth of man. The tragic fact of the fall is a testimony to that. The devil said to Eve: “You will not die” if you eat of that forbidden fruit. “For God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be as gods, knowing good and evil” (Gen 3.4-5). On the other hand, the fact that we are going to be “gods by grace” or “become partakers of divine nature” (2 Pet 1.4), certainly without the swallowing-up or annihilation of human nature by infinite divine nature, is also a truth taught by the Holy Spirit. But the resurrection, and imperishableness, and brightness of the bodies and theosis, which is given to us by grace and not by our own merit, require special examination, which the shortness of time does not allow us to make.

Be that as it may, our Lord Jesus was not satisfied with merely giving us life while we were mortal; he gave us a superabundance of life (Jn 10.10) and “has made ready for us the authority of divinity and eternal repose,” the greatness of the joy of which is not possible for the human mind to grasp.⁵⁰

Consequently, the new creation in Christ is far superior to the first creation, because the new Adam profited us much more than the first

⁴⁸Chrysostom, *On Philipians* 13.2, PG 62.278-79.

⁴⁹Athanasios, *On the Incarnation* 54, BEPES 30.119 (11); *Against Heresies*, Homily 1.38, BEPES 30.154 (36-37); Gregory the Theologian, *Homily 1 on Holy Pascha* 5, PG 35.397.

⁵⁰Basil the Great, *Long Rules* 2.4, PG 31.916.

Adam harmed us by his sin.⁵¹ Man, through his embodiment of his nature in God the Word, who is the head of the Church, has not only been raised up, but has been raised “above” the angelic powers and has become partaker of the divine glory (Θεοῦται); he has become god! For as the divine Chrysostom asks: “To what nature did God say, ‘Sit thou on my right hand?’ To that which had heard, ‘dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return.’ In this manner, man, who proved unworthy of divine gifts, who became a ‘toy of the devil’ and bound by death, now surpasses death and puts on incorruption. He, who fell into such a chaos that ‘there was nothing lower to which to descend,’ has risen to such a height that there is none ‘higher to which to ascend.’ He sits, furthermore, at the right hand of the throne of God, because ‘where the head is, there the body is also; because in no way is the head separated from the body; if it had been separated, it would not have been possible to be body nor possible to be head.’ ” Amazed, the holy Father exclaimed: “Alas, to what heights has he raised the Church!” “Alas! Astonishing, inspiring fear, and awful indeed, are the facts.”⁵²

Precisely because through the incarnate and crucified, the risen and ascended Christ, worthless and perishable human nature is so much honored that it surpasses all the stages of created beings; and because man acquires immortality and theosis, and, furthermore, “he becomes one race, God and man,”⁵³ the holy Fathers consider that those things which we have received after the fall are incomparably higher than those we lost from the fall.

Nevertheless, for man to make the gifts of the ascended Jesus his own, he must be dead with Jesus, because of sin; he must live the life of Jesus as his own. Then he will be able to exclaim with Saint Gregory the Theologian, “Yesterday I was crucified with Christ; today I am glorified with him. Yesterday I died with him; today I am alive with him. Yesterday I was buried with him; today I am risen with him.”⁵⁴ This way, our participation in the gifts of the ascended Lord makes Easter the holy day of “Passover” with which we abandon “this Egypt of life, the grave, the burdensome, and the dark”; we vanquish corruption and death and walk rejoicing toward the promised land, the heavenly Jerusalem where eternal life and endless joy reign.⁵⁵

I would like to close this essay with the triumphal ending of the

⁵²Chrysostom, *Homily 3 on Ephesians* 2, PG 62.25-26; *On the Ascension* 2.4, PG 50.445-48; *On Colossians* 5.1, PG 62.332.

⁵³Chrysostom, *On the Ascension* 16, PG 52.789; *On the Psalms* 8.1, PG 55.107.

⁵⁴Gregory the Theologian, *Homily on Pascha*, PG 35.397; see also *The Canon of the Sunday of Easter*, Ode 3.

⁵⁵Gregory the Theologian, *Letter 120*, PG 37.213-16.

catechetical homily of Holy Pascha from the one named “Golden Mouth” of the Church: “O Death, where is thy sting? O hell, where is thy victory: Christ is risen and demons have fallen. Christ is risen and the angels rejoice. Christ is risen and freedom is given to life. Christ is risen and there is none dead in the tombs. For Christ is raised from the dead, and has become the first-fruits of them that slept. To him be glory and dominion from all ages to all ages. Amen.”

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prompt Wilson to conclude with an appeal for "a more charitable verdict" on them than the one pronounced by Edward Gibbon and his followers.

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The Mystery of Fidelity. By Joseph J. Allen. Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. Pp. 121 + 22 Plates. \$6.95, paperbound.

We all know what it is to say: seeing is believing. From the youngest and least mature among us, to our brightest and most advanced, we have all felt the strange impact and undeniable power which this idea has on our thinking and daily living. Toddlers and young children seem almost driven to see and touch and find out for themselves, and research scientists will not accept results which cannot be repeated and verified by others.

Despite its enormous appeal to our reason and its virtual control over our sense of reality, however, "seeing is believing" also happens to be the direct antithesis of faith. The definition of faith, indeed the standard by which our faith as Orthodox Christians is to be measured, was very clearly and succinctly described by our Lord himself when he said: ". . . Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed" (Jn 21.29).

If something which is so basic to our thinking is an obstacle to our being able to believe without seeing, how can we ever acquire faith? What can we do to project ourselves beyond the limitations of our human nature to develop and nurture the faith required of us?

The Mystery of Fidelity, by Joseph J. Allen, shows us a way to find the answer to these crucial questions. Of course, this "answer" is not the kind of quick and easy solution we have learned to expect, and it may even feel unacceptable to our western, "fast-food," immediate gratification mentality. Nevertheless, in this brief work of 121 pages, the author—known officially as the Very Reverend Joseph J. Allen—has provided us with a living, breathing example of how we can cut through to the heart of this most profound of theological problems, and he has done so without preaching to us or assailing us with theological arguments.

In *The Mystery of Fidelity*, Father Allen takes us with him on his own journey to explore the mystery of fidelity, and as we follow him each and every step of the way, he describes for us what he is seeing and feeling, and thereby learning, about faith. As we examine each of

the ideas and sentiments and insights which he reveals to us, we soon realize that we are witnessing a confession: Father Allen's confession of his own journey to faith. He reveals to us his realization that faith involves violence, and he acknowledges that: "There may come a time when one must feel the violence of *separation*, even from where one feels most comfortable"; and that: "There may *also* come a time when a wife must allow her husband to go to his death . . ." (p.21). With some sadness, he shares with us that: "The man . . . with too much innocence . . . is destined to die violently at the hands of his fellowman" (p. 31).

He reminds us that faith involves our brother: "one is judged by that relationship (to his brother)" (p. 49); "we cannot call ourselves . . . we call other names, and want for others to call our name" (p. 55); and: "we are deemed worthy when the brother trusts our word, when he believes our promise merely because we have made it . . ." (p. 60). He broadens our awareness by pointing out that faith also involves our earth: "Receiving the dead, the earth stands silently as a reminder that everything dies, but Life does not die" (p. 77); "The earth . . . is sincere in its function, is never deceptive; it does what God has created it to do" (p. 80); and: "the earth does not consider its own 'life' first. It gives. It loses itself. It possesses nothing" (p. 85).

He emphasizes that faith involves our community: "the person and the community 'define' each other; the community is comprised of selves, and there is no true self outside the community which shapes that self" (p. 91); "those unfaithful to 'other' have nowhere to go, not even out of themselves. They have made a world inside themselves" (p. 93); and "Outside the life of the community, a person may go about 'being faithful' but such an act remains like a machine . . . and leaves this one feeding only on himself—and never being satisfied" (p. 95). He concludes with God, the Center and Core of our faith: "For the Christian, life is, because the Creator *is*, and all fidelity to life rests upon fidelity to the One who brought such life into being from nothing" (p. 109); "he is 'light,' but this light blinds us, is beyond us, is an "unapproachable light," and thus, although near us, we continue to grope for him in darkness" (p. 112); and "he indeed waits for us to return, to be healed. But we can return in no other way than by the way of *violence*, a violence which wounds us deeply enough to open our heart in fidelity to the *Brother*, the *Earth* and the *Community*" (p. 121).

As we read, and as we reflect on what we read, it feels as if we have been taken on a guided tour through Father Allen's eyes and mind and heart. As he shares, reveals, and confesses to us, so he encourages us by his example to begin our own journey. If we become frightened or saddened or confused along the way, he assures us that this is precisely what the process of learning, of becoming, of learning to become a

Christian involves. Thus, we gain further understanding of the essential nature of confession as an ongoing and continuous process: a confession of faith, a reflection on that confession, and a confession of what is then revealed by that reflection. How different this is from that sterile, score-card, western distortion of confession that we have been tempted into accepting.

With this small book as our guide and our starting point, we are all in a position to begin exploring our own mystery of fidelity and going through our own confession of faith. However, what we have also learned from Father Allen is that this process cannot be conducted in isolation: we must embark on our confession of faith before God, before our brothers, and in the community of our brothers. Drawing upon the courage which Father Allen has displayed in revealing himself to us, we can begin opening ourselves to each other by reflecting on Father Allen's thoughts and insights. Once having initiated this process, however, it will then be necessary for us to move further and begin revealing ourselves to each other. Thus, the mystery of fidelity is a confession of faith which is a continuous and ongoing process and which requires our being in communion with our brothers.

This book belongs in every Orthodox home and in every Orthodox parish. Guided by the issues and insights presented, our Orthodox faithful, working in groups, can involve themselves further in the process of overcoming obstacles to faith and living by that faith, more of the time, rather than less of the time.

John D. Dalack

Χρόνος τελέσεως τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας 'Καῖρός τοῦ ποιῆσαι τῷ Κυρίῳ' [The Divine Liturgy: The Time of its Celebration]. By Alkiviadis Calivas (Calyvopoulos). *Analecta Vlatadon*, 37. Thessalonike: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1982. Pp. 230. \$15.00, cloth.

The Rev. Dr. Alkiviadis Calivas, Dean of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and associate professor of Liturgics, has made an important contribution to the research of Orthodox worship. He goes into great detail and offers the reader explanations for the varieties of rituals (*typica*) and liturgical development throughout the twenty centuries of Orthodox Christianity. The present book is not only a historical study but also includes theological and ecclesiological presuppositions and interpretations of the ritual practices of the Church.

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THE TOMB OF ISAAK KOMNENOS AT PHERRAI

Nancy P. Ševčenko

THE SEBASTOKRATOR Isaak Komnenos was born in 1093; he was the son of the Emperor Alexios I, the younger brother of Anna Komnene and of the Emperor John II, and father of Andronikos I. We hear of him in various contexts: as the man who may have commissioned the Octateuch of the Seraglio and as the probable author of both Homeric and theological treatises, a man praised for his literary and charitable activities by Theodore Prodromos but condemned for sedition by contemporary historians. He fell out with his brother John in 1122, and for the next fourteen years wandered, stirring up insurrection, in the Holy Land and among the Seljuk Turks. Though reconciled with his brother in 1136, he was apparently again in exile at the time of John's death in 1143, when he was recalled by his nephew, Manuel I.¹ In 1152, embittered, and in poor health, he began to compose a rather disorderly Typikon for a monastery dedicated to the Virgin Kosmosoteira, located at a place called Βῆραι; this monastery he himself had founded, and in it he wished to be buried.² Βῆραι has been iden-

¹ For the biography of Isaak, and his literary and artistic endeavors, cf. Th. Uspenskij, "Konstantinopol'skij serral'skij kodeks vosmikhnižija," *Izvestija russkago arxeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*, 12 (1907), 1-33; Ed. Kurtz, "Unedierte Texte aus der Zeit des Kaisers Johannes Komnenos," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 16 (1907), esp. 101-19; O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I Komnenos* (Amsterdam, 1970), pp. 28-38; P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinische Kleinchroniken*, 1 (Vienna, 1975), p. 55 (for the date of Isaak's birth); J.F. Kindstrand, *Isaac Porphyrogenitus, Praefatio in Homerum* (= Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia, 14) (Uppsala, 1979), pp. 13-20 (attributes the treatises to this Isaak, rather than to the Isaak who was brother of Alexios I); J.C. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 36 (1982), esp. 84-86.

² L. Petit, "Typikon du monastere de la Kosmosotira pres d'Aenos," *Izvestija russkago arxeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*, 13 (1908) 17-75. I am preparing an English translation of this Typikon for a volume of translations of Typika to be published by Dumbarton Oaks. The Typikon, though started in 1152, was by no means dictated all at one time. Issak, for example, does not refer to his tomb at all until Section 89 of the Typikon; he must have decided to have it moved from Chora only when he saw the monastery close to completion. There is other evidence in the later sections

tified with Pherrai, a town in Greek Thrace not far from Alexandroupolis and the Turkish border. In the town of Pherrai there stands today a large church of the Komnenian period, in plan a modified cross-in-square, adorned with frescoes of the twelfth century (Fig. 1). This church is presumed to have been the katholikon of Isaak's monastery of the Kosmosoteira.³

During his happier years at the court of Constantinople, Isaak apparently erected a tomb for himself in the Monastery of Chora, for in the Typikon he requests that various elements of the structure at Chora be removed and shipped to his new foundation.⁴ His anxiety over this move led him to set forth his instructions in some detail; he thus furnishes us with precious information about what constituted a princely tomb of the first half of the twelfth century.

Isaak speaks first of transferring the marble slabs which were to house his remains: his tomb then was probably not a hollowed-out sarcophagos but was composed of several pieces of marble fitted together. He speaks, too, of a cast bronze railing, of an icon stand, and of images (the word used is *σῆλαι*) of his parents, i.e. Alexios and Irene, all of which had apparently already been set up in Chora. There was also an image of himself there, which he insists be *not* removed.⁵ Incidentally, Isaak later gives special orders that there be no image made of him anywhere at all in the new monastery.⁶

Isaak goes on to say that in the middle of the lid of the tomb "I

of the Typikon of changes in plan occurring as construction progressed (e.g. in the location of icons and in the burial places of his close associates). Despite his poor health, then, Isaak must have lived on for quite some time after 1152, and have continued to add new instructions to the Typikon.

³ The identification was first made by Uspenskij (cf. note 1 above). Petit proposed another church nearer the sea, the Παναγία Σκαλωτή (cf. note 2 above, p. 19), but Uspenskij's identification has been generally accepted. A. Orlandos, "Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Βῆρας," *Θρακικά* 4 (1933) 3-44; Nancy Patterson (Ševčenko), "Byzantine Frescoes at Pherrai" (M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1964); D. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34/35 (1982) 103-05, figs. 45-49.

⁴ Section 89, Petit, p. 63. The date of the tomb at Chora is unknown. It seems hard to believe that Isaak was planning his tomb before 1122, i.e. while still in his 20s. The portrait of himself which he says was done in "the vanity of youth," must date before 1122, since when Isaak returned to Constantinople from exile, he was already forty-three years old. But the tomb project itself may date from this later period, and have merely incorporated an early portrait into its design.

⁵ A portrait of Isaak as a donor forms part of the early fourteenth century mosaic decoration at Chora commissioned by Theodore Metochites, a later benefactor of the church, P. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (Bollingen Series, N.Y., 1966), 1 pp. 11-13, 45-48; 2, Plates pp. 36 and 37.

⁶ Section 77, Petit, p. 59. The passage indicates that such commemorative portraiture must have been considered routine.

want my enkolpion [of] the Theotokos to be fastened (literally “engraved”) in a prone position in [a setting of] silver work; it has been readied and handed over, and I have just now deposited it in the treasury.”⁷ The passage is somewhat puzzling, but I take it to mean that his own enkolpion is to be set in silver into the marble lid of the tomb. We know of silver sheathing for tombs, but I am not aware of parallels for this sort of silver insert. The “prone position” of the Virgin suggests that she was depicted on the enkolpion standing up, so that when placed on the flat lid, she would of course appear to be lying down. It is, however, conceivable that Isaak means that a *replica* of his enkolpion is to be made in silver and placed on the lid, as a sort of revetment.

The *most* precious adornment of his tomb, according to Isaak, will be the mosaic icon he owns of the Virgin Kosmosoteira, which came to him, he says, by an act of God from Rhaidestos (modern Tekirdağ in Turkish Thrace). The icon must have been originally in Chora, as he speaks of transferring its *stand* from there, but he has apparently had it with him from the time the monastery dedicated to the Kosmosoteira was founded. He has provided the icon with a decoration of gold and silver (κόσμον περιεθέμην χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου, probably a silver-gilt frame),⁸ and he requests that the icon be affixed to one end of the tomb, along with the one of Christ which is of the same size.⁹ The icon type, the Virgin Kosmosoteira, incidentally, is otherwise unattested. In the Typikon, he makes provision for proper lighting of these icons, and even for their conservation; when they fall into disrepair, he says, they should be removed from their wooden backing and reset by a first-rate technician onto good elm boards.¹⁰

⁷ Περὶ δέ γε τὸ πτώμα μέσον τοῦ τάφου ἐγκολαφθῆναι τὴν Θεοτόκον τὸ ἔμὸν ἐγκόλπιον ἐν ὑπτίῳ τῷ σχήματι βούλομαι διὰ τοῦ ἀργυροῦ ἔργου, ὅπερ εὐθείασθὲν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ ἐτέθη τὴν σήμερον καὶ παραδέδοται. Section 89, Petit, p. 63.

⁸ The term κόσμος could equally well mean a revetment, rather than a frame, but surviving mosaic icons often have silver or gold frames and rarely any revetment. Cf. the eleventh-century mosaic icon of Saint Nicholas on Patmos, M. Chatzedakes, *Εἰκόνες τῆς Πάτμου* (Athens, 1977), 1, pp. 44-45 and Pl. 1. Cf. also A. Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du moyen âge* (= Bibliothèque de l'Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines de Venise, 7) (Venice, 1975).

⁹ Sections 1, 9, 89, 90, Petit, pp. 19, 23-24, 63-64. While in exile Isaak composed a poem to the Virgin with an appeal for salvation, Ed. Kurtz, “Ein Gedicht des Sebastokrator Isaakios Komnenos,” *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 5 (1926-27) 44-46. The poem would seem to be addressed to an *image* of the Virgin and Child. It should be noted that Isaak donated a book containing some of his own “ekphraseis” to the monastery library, Section 106, Petit, p. 69. Section 9 of the Typikon (Petit, p. 24), which concerns the icon of the Kosmosoteira, itself reads a little like an ekphrasis.

¹⁰ Section 109, Petit, p. 71.

The tomb was to be located in the left part of the narthex, there where, he says, "I made an extension (παρεκβολή) to the building for my tomb."¹¹ This brings up another puzzle: What sort of space did the tomb occupy? Was Isaak talking about a separate structure, a real tomb chamber *attached* to the narthex, or about something smaller, an arcosolium niche, for example, at one end of it?

Turning back to the Typikon, we find that Isaak says that the railing to be brought from Chora should separate the tomb from "the whole of the narthex." And in it should be an entrance-way so that the monks can go in after Vespers and recite the Trisagion before the two icons, plus forty Kyrie Eleisons for the repose of his soul before they retire to their cells.¹² Now the monastery was designed to have at least fifty "singing" monks,¹³ and unless we assume they filed in one by one, we should probably reconstruct Isaak's tomb as a separate chamber large enough to accomodate at least a portion of them.

Turning for confirmation to the evidence provided by the structures surviving at Pherrai, we discover to our regret that, though there are paving stones visible to the West of the present West wall of the church, no narthex has been preserved—neither esonarthex nor exonarthex, both of which are mentioned in the Typikon. However, the small domed NW and SW corner bays of the cross-in-square church each have a very tall recess 2.70m. long and .80m. deep in their Western wall. Robert Ousterhout has recently suggested that the tomb could have been located in one of these.¹⁴

There are two difficulties with this intriguing proposal which make me at present somewhat hesitant to accept it. We would have to assume 1) that Isaak would term this Western bay of his cross-in-square church "the narthex," and 2) that he would use the word παρεκβολή, an "extension," with reference to such a recess. This word, it seems to me, would more aptly describe a structure like the little burial chamber attached to the North wall of the Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων, Thessalonike.¹⁵ But Professor Ousterhout is undertaking a new study of the church architecture, and only when his observations on the actual remains become available, can the issue begin to be settled.

¹¹ Section 89, Petit, p. 63.

¹² Sections 7, 90, Petit, pp. 22-23, 64.

¹³ Sections 3, Petit, p. 21. There were also to be 24 monks serving the needs of these 50.

¹⁴ "The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul," PhD thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana/Champaign, 1982, p. 113.

¹⁵ D.E. Evangelides, *Ἡ Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων* (Thessalonike, 1954) figs. 1-2, Pl. 5b. Uspenskij's photograph of the church from the West (cf. note 1 above, Pl. 2) shows a structure adjoining its NW corner (no longer extant). Orlandos' plan indicates a door in the North wall of the church (now blocked by a buttress) which probably communicated with this structure (cf. note 3 above, fig. 6). But neither author gives us any indication of date.

In the meantime, the Typikon is the sole evidence we have concerning the appearance of the tomb. Accessible from the narthex through a bronze grill, the tomb chamber would have contained a marble coffin with some silver inlay or revetment, icon stands carrying two mosaic icons in fancy frames, panels with the portraits of Alexios and Irene, lamp stands, and still enough space for a good number of monks to assemble for a final prayer.

Was Isaak's tomb ever actually built? All we know for sure is that Isaak was buried in his monastery: Choniates reports that in 1183 Andronikos I rode by with a royal hunting party and visited his father's grave.¹⁶ And in the church was found a broken marble slab, inscribed with what are evidently the seven final lines of an epitaph; the very last of these lines mentions a δεσπότης—not a sebastokrator, to be sure, but close enough, given the flowery language of the inscription, to warrant the assumption that the slab once adorned Isaak's tomb.¹⁷ But whether the monks at Chora ever really consented to hand over the crucial parts of his tomb, and whether it was ever reassembled as and where Isaak envisioned it, we simply cannot tell.

¹⁶ Niketas Choniates, *Historia, De Andr. I Comn.*, p. 280: 30-39, ed. Van Dieten (Berlin, 1975).

¹⁷ Uspenskij, "Konstantinopol'skij seral'skij Kodeks vosmikhnižija" (note 1 above), p. 26 and Pl. 6; Orlandos, "Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Βῆρας," pp. 27-28, fig. 19.



1. Pherrai: View of the church of the Virgin Kosmosoteira from the Southwest (Photo: N. Ševčenko)

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Reviews

Gregory Palamas: The Triads, edited with introduction by John Meyendorff, translation by Nicholas Gendle. The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York/Ramsey/Toronto: Paulist Press, 1983. Pp. xiv, 172.

The “Triads” of Saint Gregory Palamas (1296-1359)—so called, not by their author but by posterity, because they consist of three books, each divided into three chapters—are also known as that saint’s “Defense of the Hesychasts,” though this title properly applies only to the first two books. They deal with no less a subject than the nature of the mystical knowledge of God and the “divinization” of man which it brings about; and as in them this exalted theme is dealt with by a theologian of rare genius, erudition and profundity, they constitute one of the major monuments of Orthodox literature. Yet they have only recently been published and have not yet had time to make their full impact on theological circles of the West. Apart from a few fragments, they were first edited in 1959 by John Meyendorff;¹ shortly after, they also appeared in Volume 1 of the overall collection of Palamas’ *Works* which is still in course of publication under P. Chrestou’s direction.²

The works of Palamas are written in a language which even theologically trained Greeks often find difficult to understand: a modern expert, V. Grumel, reviewing Meyendorff’s work, describes Palamas’ style as “embarrassé, touffu, parfois incohérent et laissant généralement à désirer sous le rapport de l’aisance et de la clarté.”³ Those of us who have deciphered manuscripts containing works of Palamas, or who have striven to achieve more than a superficial understanding of his published writings, may indeed echo that criticism; but unless they are blinded, as some still are, by confessional prejudices, they cannot fail to discern the value and importance of the “Triads.” Thus even learned theologians will welcome reliable translations with which they

¹ Critical Greek text, with French translation; Vols. 29-30 in the learned series *Specilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, 1959 (2nd edition 1973, with slightly revised translation): *Les Triades pour la défense des saints hésychastes*

² Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶς ἡσυχάζόντων. *The Triads. Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*. Panagiotes Chrestou (ed). Vol. 1 (Thessalonike, 1962), pp. 313-694. Vol. 2 (1966), Vol. 3 (1970), Vol. 4 in preparation.

³ *Revue des Études byzantines* 4 (1960) 250.

can check their reading of the Greek text. And there is, of course, today a large body of readers who, for reasons of intellectual open-mindedness or earnest spiritual quest, are eager to read a book of this kind, which can introduce them to a rich field of mystical doctrine hitherto inaccessible to all but a few specialists. Hence the importance of putting out reliable translations in the principal languages of the modern world.

Fr. John Meyendorff and Dr. Nicholas Gendle, the joint authors of the book under review, are pioneers in that good work who merit our thanks and congratulations. Fr. Meyendorff, who graduated at the Orthodox Theological Institute of St. Sergius in Paris and also took a brilliant doctorate at the Sorbonne with Palamas as his theme, was Director of Byzantine Studies for several years at Dumbarton Oaks; he scarcely needs introduction to the American reader, being now Professor at Fordham University and Dean of St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary near New York. Nicholas Gendle, D. Phil. of Oxford University, whose thesis on "apophatic" theology is in course of publication in *Ἑκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία* (Yearbook of the Greek Archdiocese of Great Britain), studied under Meyendorff's direction at Dumbarton Oaks. An enthusiastic Preface on the "rehabilitation of Gregory Palamas" gives a welcome ecumenical send-off to this book's appearance in the series, *Classics of Western Spirituality*, sponsored by the Roman Catholic Paulist Fathers: it is by Jaroslav Pelikan, a Lutheran of Slav origin specializing in Patrology, who is Sterling Professor of History and Religious Studies at Yale. But in the main the volume is more the work of Meyendorff than of anyone else. He has contributed twenty-four pages of Introduction, with notes, describing the author's life story and doctrine, and he has himself selected the passages for translation into English by Gendle. Moreover, the English translation and the copious notes illustrating it, are to a large extent reflections of Meyendorff's work as translator and theological commentator, though Gendle also acknowledges his indebtedness to Bishop Kallistos Ware of Oxford University, another recognized authority on Palamite doctrine. Even "the biblical and patristic references in the notes" are declared in Gendle's Foreword to be "mostly derived from Fr. Meyendorff," whereas they could, and should have been, supplemented by him (see below). But the explanatory notes themselves, though influenced by Meyendorff and Ware, are Gendle's own work; and it would have been fairer to him if the title page had made that clear.

Meyendorff's French translation of the *Triads* is fairly well known, but alas very expensive and by now out of print. It is admirably clear and readable, but when it appeared, several competent

critics⁴ expressed disappointment and pointed to various inaccuracies. Some of the errors were corrected in the second edition, but others remain. One would not mind a certain element of paraphrase, making the text more readable; but on a subject of this theological importance, it is essential to have understood the author's meaning aright and to convey its essence accurately. Thus the main purpose of the present review of a book so largely influenced by Meyendorff must be to assess to what extent Gendle's English version may have improved on Meyendorff's French.

But first, a few general remarks. A defect of this book, for which the publishers rather than the authors are responsible, is its failure to headline the pages with running titles indicating, 1) over the translated texts, the Book and chapter of the Greek original; and 2) over the notes, the sections (A to F) to which they refer. Also a list showing the passages selected and the order of their presentation and another grouping the patristic references in them might have been provided. In the main, the selection has been well made, though one may doubt whether the whole of 3.2.20 (p. 78-79) need have been included. The "chapter numbers" are said to "refer to Meyendorff's edition of the Triads,"⁵ but in quite a few instances they differ from it, e. g. on pp. 37 and 94. In principle, the omission of a phrase or passage was to have been indicated by a dotted line, but this is very far from having been universally done.⁶ The purpose of that was to "eliminate passages which are of a purely rhetorical and polemical nature" (Foreword, p. ix) and this has been successfully accomplished. On the other hand, does that not amount to presenting us with an *editio ad usum Delphini* of writings by an author, one of whose essential characteristics was his polemical acerbity, intolerance of criticism and unbridled contempt of his opponents? As his later writings in controversy with Nikephoros Gregoras will show, when they appear (perhaps this year) in Volume 4 of his collected *Works*, in this respect Palamas got worse and worse! We venerate his memory as a defender of Orthodoxy, but this saint, like all others, had his defects and one of them was a lack of charitable understanding. Is it fair to Western readers that we should cover that up by expurgating his vituperative writings when translating them? Of course,

⁴ For instance, Halkin in *Byzantion* 29-30 (1959-1960); Grumel *Revue des Études byzantines* 4 (1960) 250; Romanides in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 6 (1960-1961); Candal in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 27 (1961); and Schirò (1965)

⁵ See Translator's Note, p. 24

⁶ Note, e.g., on p. 61 line 26, p. 68 line 25, the last line of p. 73 (where thirty-one words of almost untranslatable Greek have been wisely dropped) and p. 74 line 26 (four lines of Greek summarizing Saint Maximos omitted)

in Palamas' day everyone felt morally free to indulge in this odious style of controversy; but need we hide that sad fact?

Coming now to the substance of the book, let it be said at once that Dr. Gendle's text reads very well and presents, in the main, an adequate rendering of the difficult Greek original. In some cases the translation displays a high degree of metaphrastic skill, surpassing even Meyendorff in ingenuity. Gendle's notes, too, are almost beyond reproach, with generally accurate references⁷ and with comments showing a deep understanding of the theological issues involved. The Indices, carefully compiled on an analytical basis, are far superior to the superficial lists of bare page references to which so many authors now confine themselves. It is to be hoped that Dr. Gendle, a gifted linguist and theologian, will receive all the support and encouragement he needs to continue producing works of such high quality.

Not that the translation is without blemish. Of course, all translators can suggest "improvements" of a fellow translator's work; but I would not trouble the reader with that sort of criticism, which is so largely based on personal stylistic taste. What is more serious is failure to grasp the meaning of the original or to express it adequately. The following notes are intended not to discourage Dr. Gendle, but to urge him to greater efforts to become a scrupulously accurate translator in his own right, emancipated from overdependence on his masters. I happen to have a fair acquaintance with Palamas' Greek text, as at one time I, too, was thinking of translating it. I have read right through Gendle's version, carefully comparing it with both the Greek original and with Meyendorff's translation. My criticism is based on a good deal of study.

There is first of all the Greek text itself. Meyendorff's pioneer work on it was a magnificent achievement, but Chrestou in his Thessalonike edition has been able to improve on it in just a few places, which are easily identified through his *apparatus criticus*. Neglect of this fact has landed Gendle in two errors. On p. 91 1.24-25, instead of "he becomes like one driven mad, so to speak, by the Spirit of wisdom," one should read, "what reason at all has he, because he has received the Spirit of wisdom, to become like one raving?" Chrestou, who has identified this passage as a quotation from Saint Basil, shows it to be a *question*; Meyendorff and Gendle, by missing that, attribute to the author the opposite of what he intended. Again on p. 101 1.4-5, in another Basilian quotation, "and an angel of God" should read "an angel, a god," since there is a *comma* between the two words.

⁷ But in note C 23, for XXIV read XXXIV; and in note E 38, for XCIV read XCVI.

As for translation, too close a following of Meyendorff has led Gendle into a number of errors, of which I give the following as examples.

Firstly, Gendle has not always understood Meyendorff's French: e.g., on p. 66 1.26 "could not participate absolutely in the divine essence" should be "could not participate at all" (in Greek, οὐδαμῶς—but Meyendorff's "absolument pas" seems to have been misunderstood); and on the last line of p. 99, in a quotation from Hebrews 2.4, the French word "parts" has been taken to mean "parts" in English too, whereas it means "shares, allotments" (μερίσμοι in Greek; the A.V. version is "gifts"), while the French for "parts" is "parties."

Secondly, there are cases where Meyendorff himself has misunderstood the Greek and Gendle has copied him, as when in the second paragraph of his p. 45 he makes Christ the theme of passages where Romanides (*G.O.T.R.* p. 238-39) maintains—probably not without reason—that Palamas is really only referring to the human mind. As Romanides (*ibid.* p. 250) has also pointed out, the correct translation of the words γεγονός and ἀπογενόμενον is "created" and "decreated;" but Gendle, in the last line of his p. 72 and several times in the first lines of p. 73, follows Meyendorff in rendering them as "appearing" and "disappearing." Another passage where acquaintance with Romanides (p. 265 of his review article) would have kept Gendle from being led astray by Meyendorff into even more serious mistranslations, is in lines 1-7 of his p. 88, rendered by Romanides as follows:

"[The essence of God] is invisible in itself both to sense and intellect, to those without body⁸ and those united to a body,⁹ even though one of these were to go out of himself for the better, having been deified. For it¹⁰ is believed to be and become visible only to Him¹¹ who is united hypostatically to intellect and body¹² even though not according to their¹³ proper nature. Only they¹⁴ 'by the presence of the whole one who chrismates' have been deified by and have received the same energy as the deifying essence, containing it all completely . . ."¹⁵

⁸ I e the angels

⁹ Men

¹⁰ The divine essence

¹¹ I e. to Christ.

¹² Μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνωμένῳ νῷ καὶ σώματι.

¹³ I e to intellect and body's.

¹⁴ The intellect and body of *Christ*

¹⁵ The purpose of the above very literal translation is merely to bring out the meaning. It would seem to require some degree of paraphrase to make it palatable to the reader

On p. 44 1.31, following Meyendorff, Gendle has omitted to translate ἔσθε ὅτε ("sometimes") before the phrase "united to God." On p. 85 1.11, instead of "a state of perfection," as in Meyendorff, read "a perfective disposition" (τελειωτική ἐξίς). On p.87 1.30 and elsewhere, instead of "piety" ("piété" in Meyendorff), "orthodoxy" would have been better; and similarly, on p. 85 1.23-24, "everyone irrespective of faith or piety," adopted from Meyendorff, should really be "today's heretics and unbelievers." On p. 90, there is a distinction brought out in Greek by εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . . ("we shall *either* become luminous by drawing near to the light of Christ, *or*, if the true light comes down to us, we shall also see light"), which was ignored by Meyendorff and therefore is by Gendle too. And on the same page, 1.23-25, there is a really bad mistake: Palamas' phrase ὁ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον σύμβολόν ἐστι (which, as Chrestou's edition of the Greek shows, is a parenthesis explaining the meaning of "a natural symbol of God") has been taken by Gendle, following Meyendorff, as the object of the main verb and paraphrased as "what is only an ordinary symbol," whereas what Palamas means is "which alone is a true symbol *per se*."

The last line of p. 94 reflects another piece of garbling by Meyendorff, who wrongly took the Greek to be interrogative, turned it into a negative question and arbitrarily put "virtue" into the plural; Gendle not only repeats that triple error but leaves out the word εἶτα (Meyendorff: "à la suite"); a correct rendering would be "while after it comes virtue or will or predetermination." On p. 96 1.11, instead of the Meyendorff/Gendle version "derives from a created nature," read "is of a creaturely nature"; and at the transition from that page to p. 97, instead of "says that *the* essential energy of God *consists in* being nowhere," which is based on Meyendorff (p. 660), Gendle should have written, "calls His being nowhere *an* essential energy of God, not in the sense of *His* not existing, but in the sense that *He* transcends etc."

On p. 99 1.7, in a quotation from Pseudo-Dionysios, the word μεθεκτῶς ("by participation") is left untranslated by Meyendorff/Gendle, though the author has purposely put it into contrast with ἀμέθεκτος Θεός which follows it; in another (*Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων* 4.8) on p. 101 1.14, guided by Meyendorff ("ils reçoivent l'ordre de . . ."), Gendle adopts a wholly unjustifiable interpretation of the Greek verb λέγεσθαι and writes "are told to," whereas the Areopagite and Palamas can only have meant "are said to." Gendle could have consulted P. E. Rolt's translation of Dionysios,¹⁶ which has "are spoken of as moving"; for surely a translator of quotations from well-known patristic texts should be interested in reputable versions which have preceded his. On p. 102 1.22 the familiar Septuagint/AV version of Job 38.28,

¹⁶ SPCK 1940, p. 98

"drops of dew" (βώλους δρόσου) has become "water-floods." On p. 109 1.12 Gendle adopts Meyendorff's inaccurate translation of ἀπεργάζεται; what Palamas wrote was "by purifying men He causes them to become gods"; not "He *creates* men of divine character." Finally, there are three Meyendorff/Gendle errors on p. 110: at the end of 1.9, "than this contemplation" has been omitted; in 1.14, instead of "this gift," which presumes the neuter Greek noun δῶρον, read "it"; i.e. the Divinity, which, being feminine in Greek, is what the feminine pronoun ταύτης is referring to; and in 1.19-20, instead of "exceeds even nonbeing by reason of His transcendence" read "exceeds even transcendent nonbeing" (τὸ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν μὴ ὄν)—Gendle, following Meyendorff, does more or less put this right in the next sentence, but by 1.31 they have both relapsed into the same error.

Such then are the penalties Gendle pays for his dependence on Meyendorff. One must not be overly critical of him, bearing in mind that he was commissioned by Meyendorff to translate these texts for a book which was essentially the latter's work. And of course, as Meyendorff does not often make a mistake, neither does Gendle. In fact, he occasionally corrects him. Thus on p. 60 1.29-30, Gendle has realized that the word κτάομαι (to acquire, possess) can only be middle, not passive, and he translates accordingly, whereas Meyendorff mistakenly has "la gloire par laquelle nous sommes possédés." Again, on p. 65 1.10-11, Gendle corrects Meyendorff's extraordinary mistake of translating the verb συλάω (meaning to strip, rob, deprive) as "souiller" (to defile!). On p. 91 1.4-5, where Meyendorff wrongly has "cette lumière ne provoque pas l'activité de l'intelligence," Gendle deftly corrects this to "the mind does not apprehend this light"; and on p. 110 1.16-17, he avoids this pitfall of following Meyendorff into a quite unjustified double use of the French verb "dépouiller".

However, Dr. Gendle's deviations from Fr. Meyendorff's version are not always so felicitous. True, many of his departures from the letter of the text may be explained perhaps as legitimate efforts to paraphrase. But he rarely marks with ellipse points his omission of a qualifying word or phrase ("sometimes," "all," "only," "moreover," "there," "also," "they say," "therefore," "much," "rather," "perhaps" and the like) and of adverbs strengthening the force of a verb ("infinitely," "brilliantly," "entirely," "surely," "moderately," "truly," "frequently," "greatly" are some of those noted); and such omissions, which Meyendorff rarely makes, are quite frequent in Gendle's text, yet by no means insignificant for a reader anxious to get at the exact meaning. He seems to have a special dislike of the Greek particle γάρ altogether, while at the same time he occasionally renders by "for" a whole range of other Greek expressions which really have no

relation to it, such as ἡνίκ' ἄν (p. 83 1.22), ἄρα (p. 97 1.19), πρὸς δέ (p. 105 1.24) and ἔπειτα (p. 108 1.16), and also by "although" the well-known expression ἀφ' οὗ (p. 96 1.1) meaning "since." But apart from such paraphrastic idiosyncrasies, there are cases where Gendle simply gets the sense wrong, whereas Meyendorff got it right. The following are the more salient examples of that.

On p. 38 1.16, Saint Isaak is said to confirm Saint Gregory, whereas Palamas has it the other way around. On p. 44 1.24 and p. 69 1.5, Gendle turns two negative sentences into the affirmative by inadvertently omitting the particle "not." On p. 46 1.28 ἡ διὰ πόνων πείρα is translated as "the experience which indicates the pains" instead of "which is acquired through pains"; and further on in the same line, for "effort" read "experience," since a feminine noun is required, whereas πόνος (effort) is masculine. On p. 48 1.32 the verb ἴσασι (they know), without which the sentence is meaningless, has not been translated. On p. 49 1.22, instead of "God is served" (θεραπεύεται) we find "God heals." On p. 50 1.24, instead of "the divine union surpasses only useless things," read "the divine union is a small thing, since it surpasses only useless things." On p. 62 1.17-20, there is a quotation from 2 Pet 1.15 (reference which might have been given in the notes) including the words ἐγνώρισαμεν ὑμῖν, "we made known to you" (A.V.); Gendle translates it "we have come to know." On p. 66 1.24, for "outside," read "below"; on p. 74 1.33, for "existed," read "were present"; (παρῆσαν) and for "imagination" read "pretense" (ὑπόκρισις). On p. 76 1.4 for "He did not possess" read "which did not exist" (ὃ οὐκ ἦν); on p. 83 1.17, for "curbed" read "intensified" (συναυξήσασα); on p. 101 1.15, for "motion" read "union" (ἔνωσις); on p. 106 1.15, for "became" read "become." On p. 108 1.9-10, instead of "the deifying grace is from God," read "the deifying grace which comes from God *is called* God" (θεολογεῖται), and on 1.11, for "yet" read "so."

At the risk of seeming punctilious about small things, perhaps a few brief remarks concerning style rather than meaning are permissible. Is it necessary to address God as You, not Thou, when quoting Byzantine hymnography (p. 47)? And why print "He Who" with capital initials (p. 76), when the reference is not to God but to Saint John Klimakos? On p. 32 1.10, is not "a white color" rather too elementary an expression? The exact meaning of ἐπικεχρωσμένη λευκότης is "a slight tinge of whiteness," and it is important to bring out this subtle and delicate quality of the Divine Light, to which a long, mystical tradition bears living witness, as distinct from the "flaming yellowness" of diabolical illusion. Finally, on p. 47 1.4, would it not have been better, instead of reducing ὀμφαλὸς γαστρός "to the center of the belly," to repeat "navel," already used a few lines back, seeing that the

controversy originally turned precisely around that word?

The mistakes noted above, and a host of minor imperfections not worth enumerating, unfortunately make it impossible to recommend Dr. Gendle's work as a definitive English version of the *Triads*. But this does not mean that it cannot play an important part in familiarizing Western readers with the basic lines of Palamas' doctrine. The flaws mentioned, however regrettable, do not amount to very much when viewed against the background of a text totalling nearly 30,000 words. Theologians seeking arguments for or against Palamas must beware of using Dr. Gendle's translation (or perhaps one should call it paraphrase) without checking with the Greek original the exact meaning of passages which may particularly interest them. But for the general public, this book is a boon. At last this important and very unfairly treated Orthodox mystical theologian, Palamas, is becoming known to the English-speaking world. The high quality of Dr. Gendle's English, and the clarity and depth of his explanatory notes, should make this book a best-seller in religious circles; and if, as is likely, it goes out of print and is re-edited, there may be a chance of correcting some of the worst errors in the translation. This is a work to be acquired by all persons interested in the religious experience of the Christian East. It will, as Meyendorff himself says, "introduce the reader to its very substance."

Gendle's coverage of the patristic references is almost complete, but the following can be added. The passage on p. 39 1.33-35, "it appears . . . more-than-Principle," should be in inverted commas, with a reference to Pseudo-Dionysios, *Περὶ θεῶν ὀνομάτων*, 2.11. The quotation on p. 83 1.21-24, said in note 96 to be unidentified, is echoing (?Pseudo) Maximos, *Κεφάλαια διάφορα θεολογικά* 2.25 (PG 90.1139).¹⁷ On p. 95, towards its end, the rest of the paragraph following "according to Saint Gregory of Nyssa and all the other Fathers" can be marked as a citation, with a reference to Saint Maximos, *Ἐγχειρίδια θεολογικά καὶ πολεμικά* where it figures as an annex to the *Tome to Marinus* (PG 91.281 AB—cf. Gendle's note F 27). It is regrettable that the passage attributed to Saint Basil on p. 76 1.10-14 still remains unidentified, even by Chrestou; it is quoted also in Ch. 1.3.43 of the *Triads*. As for the quotation from Chrysostom at the end of p. 91, said in note E 163 to be unidentified, Chrestou has suggested that that Saint's *Commentary on Isaiah* 1.13 sq. (PG 29.769 B) presents a parallel. The references to Saint Isaak of Nineveh's *Homilies* are not very helpful, since they quote only the first Greek edition by Theotokes

¹⁷ Cf. the *Discourse on the Transfiguration* by Palamas' elder contemporary, Saint Gregory of Sinai, recently published (ed. D. Balfour, in *Θεολογία*, 53 (1981), lines 35-36, 196-208, 490-93).

(or Theotoki, as he is called in two of them), Leipzig 1770, and Spetsieres' reprint of it, Athens 1895; both are out of print and practically unobtainable, but a new reprint is available, published by Rigopoulos, Thessalonike, 1977, which could and should have been pointed out to the reader. In general, some effort might have been made to help the reader to realize which of the lesser-known mystical works referred to by Palamas, such as "Dionysios," Diadochos, "Makarios," Isaak and Maximos, are available today in English, French or German translation. In the case of Diadochos, for instance, the reference "ed. Des Places" in notes C 28 and C 115 is inadequate.

In his Introduction, Fr. John Meyendorff, made cautious perhaps because by his experience of criticism coming not only from Latin Church specialists but also from some Orthodox ones, such as Romanides and Krivocheïne, avoids over-statements regarding Varlaam's approach to the theology and the basic character of the whole hesychast quarrel. He admits (p. 11) that Varlaam may be misrepresented by Palamas and refrains from calling him a Nominalist, remarking merely (p. 6) that "some historians" would establish a parallel between the Nominalist/Realist controversy in the contemporary West and Palamas' controversy with Varlaam over theological method. Again, he gets no further than saying that certain factors made the debate *appear* to be essentially one about "the relation between ancient philosophy and Christian experience" (p. 11). Until all Varlaam's literary output is published and thoroughly studied, one should indeed abstain from overly critical judgments on him. He was not as Orthodox as he intended and imagined, but he was no fool. The Orthodox Church, persecuted for obscurantism today, is sadly in need of coming to terms with the truths long established by natural science, so we cannot afford to depise the philosophical forerunners of the Renaissance of which Varlaam was a typical example. Of course, as Palamas taught, the mystical knowledge of God is—and always has been and will be—supreme over all other kinds of knowledge; but then, how important it is to defend its supremacy by ceasing to attribute to it now the rudimentary pseudo-science with which it inevitably got mixed up in biblical and patristic literature. And is it not perhaps an exaggeration to see in the hesychast controversy a gigantic and momentous struggle against "the neo-paganism of the Renaissance and the Reformation," as does Léonide Ouspensky, following Meyendorff and Lossky in his *Essai sur la théologie de l'icône dans l'Eglise Orthodoxe* (Paris, 1980)? Such sweeping generalizations belong rather to the sphere of Russian historico-philosophical speculation than of Orthodox theology and the history of Christian doctrine. Much more detailed discussion will be required before it can be definitely discerned whether

this controversy was not simply between *two theological currents within the Orthodox world* (complicated perhaps in the individual case of Varlaam by the presence of Augustinianism and other Latin influences) rather than between a Neo-Platonic essentialist and intellectual mysticism with agnostic humanist tendencies on the one hand and, on the other, a biblico-Stoic existentialist and cardiac mysticism, with stronger "incarnational" and sacramentalist tonalities.

Fr. Meyendorff is to be congratulated on not overemphasizing here his hypothesis of such a polarization and cleavage, which he originally propounded with such conviction.¹⁸ In his notes he shows awareness that "the debate continues" on these themes, by mentioning Podskalsky, de Halleux and others. Meanwhile, he has concentrated on presenting Palamas as the doctor who teaches "Knowledge beyond Knowledge," "Transfiguration of the Body," "Deification and the Uncreated Glory of Christ." My only reproach is that in his brief résumé of the biographical facts ("The Life of Palamas," p. 5-8) he makes no mention at all of Gregory of Sinai; for I cannot help thinking that in the last years of his early sojourn on Mount Athos (1323-25) Palamas must have been under his direct influence.¹⁹

¹⁸ One of the best analyses of the factors at work remains that published by P. Chrestou already in 1956 in *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμάς*, 39 (1956) 128-38; i.e., predating Meyendorff's main works by three years.

¹⁹ An article in which I plead in favor of this view is due to appear this autumn in *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* edited by Fr. John who is also Dean of St. Vladimir's Seminary.

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Partakers of God. By Panagiotes K. Chrestou. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. Pp. 66. Paperbound.

I have before me Professor Chrestou's excellent book, *Partakers of God*, comprised of words delivered as part of the Patriarch Athenagoras Memorial Lectures at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology. Dr. Chrestou, who began his teaching career at Holy Cross, was for many years a member of the faculty of Theology at the Aristotelian University of Thessalonike. It was in Thessalonike, too, that he founded the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies at the famous Vlatadon Monastery. His many editorial projects in patristic writings and hagiographic collections (including the collected works of Saint Gregory Palamas), together with an impressive array of scholarly articles, either written or translated into the English language, have made this Greek theologian quite popular with an American audience. It is only

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comprehensive and detailed, providing us with a way in which we can better understand early Christianity, Judaism, Greco-Roman religions, and the interaction among all of them.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

Obedience. Edited by Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. Pp. vii + 88.

This second volume in the series *Themes in Orthodox Patristic Psychology* follows the first, *Humility*; like the first, it is edited by Archimandrite Chrysostomos, Abbot of Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery in Etna, California. The present volume contains an introduction by Archimandrite Chrysostomos, essays by the editor, Hieromonk Ambrosios, Rev. Alexey Young, and Rev. Vladimir Derugin, and a concluding section of new translations from the desert fathers by Archimandrite Chrysostomos. Like the first volume, this is designed both to illuminate aspects of Orthodox theology for Orthodox believers and also to present these insights to a Western audience.

As a Roman Catholic, I deeply appreciate the contributions of this series to a Western understanding of Orthodoxy. Western Christians will find Archimandrite Chrysostomos' introduction especially helpful in understanding the particular view of truth and of primacy held by the Orthodox, a view that is still very unfamiliar in the West. Chrysostomos explains to a world jaded by relativism that the Orthodox Church bears witness to the absolute truth revealed in the Person of Christ, the Logos, the Eternal Word of God, and that it measures all propositions and all behavior against the standard of that truth. More clearly than ever before, perhaps, Abbot Chrysostomos shows that this claim to bear witness to the truth is not made with arrogance or superiority but humbly, openly, and charitably.

Especially valuable is Archimandrite Chrysostomos' plea for an ecumenism based not upon the vain search for the lowest common denominator that might unite the churches but rather upon the witness of the eternal truth of the Logos.

The essays illuminate what obedience means for Orthodox in the context of this witness and the distinctions between true obedience freely and humbly offered and the false obedience that can be demanded by either church or state. The fresh and pithy translations of the desert fathers at the end offer direct examples of the experience of obedience in Orthodox tradition. As a whole the book admirably serves its purpose

of opening Western minds to an important aspect of Eastern spirituality as well as illuminating it for Orthodox believers.

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Jesus in Focus: A Life in its Setting. By Gerard S. Sloyan. Mystic, Conn.: Twenty-third Publications, 1984. Pp. 212.

The present work by Dr. Gerard Sloyan is of great interest to teachers of religion and especially to those who are in a secular academic setting. Father Sloyan is a Roman Catholic priest of the diocese of Trenton, New Jersey. He is a well known educator who received the John Courtney Murray Award of the Catholic Society of America in 1981. He is well known for his many books, articles and lectures dealing with early Christianity, worship, and biblical studies. In view of the author's academic background, the present book is a product of his long experience as a professor both at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. and at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Professor Sloyan wrote this book to be used in a non-Christian academic discussion of Jesus. The purpose of the book is to offer honest discussion of the person of Jesus free of any post-New Testament influence. It was not written to be used as a seminary textbook but rather to create discussion and finally attain mutual understanding between Jews, Muslims, and Christians. The discussion takes place above an emotional and prejudicial plane. It was written with the goal to study the person of Jesus objectively. The book is about ". . . who Jesus was and what he stood for in the eyes of those who first believed in him, which is another way of saying from the viewpoint of the various evangelists" (p. 7).

Father Sloyan emphasizes in this book the point that Jesus was deeply rooted in the Jewish tradition and literature. "Nowhere does he repudiate Jewish peoplehood" (p. 44). And he emphasizes that, "he is identified as the man of good faith, whose personal holiness and teaching are irrefutable by anyone of good faith" (p. 45). Sloyan wrote a book on Jesus using a language to interpret the gospels to Jews and Muslims. He discusses Christian practices, rites, and history in terms that anyone outside the Christian tradition may clearly understand. One of the most interesting features of this book is the Islamic understanding of Jesus. The last chapter of the book is an excellent discussion on "The Jesus of the Qu'ran." This chapter is of utmost importance as background reading for any dialogue group seeking to bring greater understanding between Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

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Theological and Pedagogical Perspectives on the Family as Educator

JOHN L. BOOJAMRA

FAMILY LIFE FOR THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION is based on the fundamental first principle of the social nature of fully human existence. In the following paper I will consider the Christian family as the matrix for the nurturing of Christian personality characteristics. I shall consider these characteristics as pre-theological, inasmuch as they are foundational for later spiritual and religious development. In considering these, Orthodox face a number of problems which are not inherent in the nature of the family itself: the Church seems to have failed to reflect critically on the family as the matrix of trust, personhood, and intimacy; seeing it merely as the locus of information and virtues. There was seemingly no problem with this assumption as long as there was a *corpus Christianum* and economic necessity forced people to live together in permanent units.

This paper will provide some practical and speculative reflections on the family as nurturer. The approaches here may be inchoate and eclectic but such is the process of building Orthodox religious education. To be effective as a discipline and a service to the Orthodox community, religious education must continually formulate theories and articulate traditional beliefs in the context of contemporary needs, issues, and research. To this theologians must respond in an effort to develop a dialogical model of the Orthodox family as educator.

In the formative period of the Church's life there was no formal thinking on the nature of family, marriage, or community. With the exception perhaps of the lives of saints, secondhand information in historical sources, and the writings of a few Fathers (such as Gregory the Theologian's funeral orations on his father and on Saint Basil), no treatment exists of the goals of family living. The family was treated as a constant, self-evident, reality whose fundamental theological justification was that of Ephesians 5.31-32:

For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and the two shall be one flesh. This is a

great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the church.

The tradition concerning marriage and the family has been both negative and positive. On the one hand, it revealed an infatuation with virginity as the preferred state, as in Matthew 19.12, 1 Corinthians 7.38, and Revelation 4.4. The superiority of virginity was praised in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (Similitude 9.8.24);¹ Justin Martyr spoke of the elderly who remained pure and uncorrupted (*Apology* 1.15).² Certainly, this tradition proved unfavorable to family life! This negative tendency was so evident that the Church had occasionally to affirm the acceptability of marriage and family life. Canons 4 and 9 of Gangra (ca 325-81), for instance, condemned anyone who rejected marriage or pursued virginity because they deemed marriage unclean.³ Canon 15 of the same synod of Gangra condemned anyone who would refuse to nurture his children and "shall neglect them, under pretense of asceticism."⁴

On the other hand, the Church has tended also to idealize the family as the perfect form of community in which Christians can experience the fullest possible expression of Christian mutuality. Although the tendency to affirm the family was most evident in the Old Testament,⁵ Saint Paul accentuated this trend with his identification of the husband/wife relationship with that of the Christ/Church. This particular reference, Ephesians 5, was, in fact, the basis for the later Byzantine treatment of marriage as a sacrament(al). Saint John Chrysostom continued this, emphasizing the family as the *ekklesoula*, the *little church*—"For indeed the household is a little Church."⁶ Again, John Chrysostom in his *Commentary on Ephesians* urged husbands to "imitate the bridegroom of the Church."⁷ Although there is little critical material on the nature of the family or its educational function in the fathers and almost

¹ In *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (New York, 1926), 2, pp 48, 51.

² Justin Martyr, *Apologies*, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (New York, 1926), 1, p. 156

³ *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* Second Series (Grand Rapids, n.d.), 14, pp. 93, 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98. The following canon, 16, also condemned children who, under the same pretext, neglected their parents. Ignatius of Antioch takes up the same theme: "Tell my sisters to love the Lord and be content with their husbands in the flesh and the spirit. In like manner, charge my brothers in the name of Jesus Christ to love their wives, as the Lord loved the Church." See *Epistle to Polycarp*, 5 in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (New York, 1926), 1, p. 95.

⁵ For an example of this tendency to idealize marriage, see John Meyendorff, *Marriage. An Orthodox Perspective* (Crestwood, 1970), pp 57-58

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21

⁷ Saint John Chrysostom, *Homily 20 on Ephesians*, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. Second Series (Grand Rapids, 1956), 13, p. 145.

nothing in the canons, Meyendorff has noted that this was not because they were indifferent to its form or content:

Never, in her entire history, did the Christian Church show more clearly that she was bringing into the world a new and unprecedented divine reality and presence.⁸

While this approach may have been positive, it has also tended to be stress-producing. There is no such reality as the family *in abstraction*. The application of this idealized perspective to the family in its nuclear form has increased the strain on an already over-burdened institution. It is in the context of the failure of the nuclear family to live up to the ideals established for it and keep its promises as a mutualistic community that we witness among adolescents the fascination with cults and sects, and the epidemic increase in suicide. People are looking elsewhere for the validation and sense of belonging that the nuclear family is hard pressed to provide.

The Church's failure to produce a community of trained theologians, educators, and sociologists to consider the family has prevented the Orthodox community in North America from working for an effective family-centered and family-life catechesis. We Orthodox possess no guidelines on the family or family education. When formal thinking does occur, it is invariably in terms of pious affirmation of the family that serve to increase the strain as we compare the *is* and the *ought* of the family experience. With the exception of contemporary works by Meyendorff and Constantelos,⁹ which treat marriage historically, family life, Christian nurture, and parenting have been given short shrift in ecclesiastical tradition and current theological thought. Within the next generation the Church in North America must crystalize its theology of the family and parenting in the light of the expertise of the social sciences; without this, educators and pastors cannot speak of a meaningful family-life or family-centered ministry.

⁸ Meyendorff, *Marriage*, p. 20.

⁹ Meyendorff, *Marriage* and Demetrios Constantelos, *Marriage, Sexuality, and Celibacy: A Greek Orthodox Perspective* (Minneapolis, 1965). For an historical treatment of the family, see Jean Remy, "The Family: Contemporary Models and Historical Perspectives" in Andrew Greeley (ed.), *The Family in Crisis or in Transition* (New York, 1979), pp. 3-14; see also the more substantial and more readable survey of Christian marriage by Roland H. Bainton, *Sex, Love, and Marriage* (Glasgow, 1957). Gabriel Moran, *Education Toward Adulthood*, (New York, 1979), chapter 5, offers a brief history of the family and the assurance that it will survive as the only viable option for nurturing children. In addition, see the analysis of childhood and childrearing practices from the middle ages to the modern period in Marie Winn, *Children Without Childhood* (New York, 1981) pp. 87-107.

The child's primary world, both psychologically and spiritually, is the family. Orthodox in North America have traditionally affirmed the importance of the family, but have done little about it. We tend to put our money on what we believe, and we have invested very little in family life education or family-centered catechesis.

We need to recall that the family is the nuclear center from which all values arise and that even the child's later attendance at school does not annul the family's dynamic impact on his life.¹⁰

In this process of restoring the parents to their primary place as educators we must first come to an understanding of the family, how it functions, its theological and sociological imperatives, and the systems of which it is part and by which it is constituted. We can call upon the assistance of the social sciences to articulate a contemporary theological rationale for an institution that has been the single most constant feature of both human and Christian life. I have suggested elsewhere that the primary focus of our attention, and one in keeping with Orthodox history, tradition, and liturgical categories, is a socialization model as outlined by educators such as C. Ellis Nelson, John H. Westerhoff, and Bernard Marthaler.¹¹ In addition, developmental psychologists such as Piaget, Erikson, and Kohlberg are valuable to Christian educators and pastors for their findings on the internal dynamics—cognitive, emotional, and moral—of the individual and the manner in which these enable the family and its members to grow, develop, and respond to the word of God.

First let us develop a definition of "family" since for many Christian educators and sociologists the very definition runs the gamut from the specific to the absurdly general. For the purposes of this paper I will define family as any group of people, related by blood or will, living together in an intentionally permanent relationship, with or without children, whose bond has been sealed by a commitment

¹⁰ Samuel Natale, "A Family Systems Approach to Religious Education and Development," *Religious Education*, 74 (May/June, 1979) 246.

¹¹ See C. Ellis Nelson, *Where Faith Begins* (New York, 1976); John H. Westerhoff, III, *Will Our Children Have Faith?* (New York, 1976), and Bernard Marthaler, "Socialization as a Mode for Catechesis," in P. O'Hare, *Foundations of Religious Education* (New York, 1978), pp. 64-92; and John L. Boojamra, "Socialization as an Historical Model for Christian Integration," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, 25 (1981) 219-37.

to maintain a community which is at once intimate and nurturing. The Orthodox will necessarily add that such a community must exist within the context of the Church—that is, the couple acting as the focal point must be heterosexual and must have sought out the blessing of Christ for the establishment of their community. These definitions are highly problematic inasmuch as the expectations of an Orthodox family are necessarily formally more specific and rigid than those for a non-Orthodox family, but for both the key elements are permanency, intimacy, heterosexuality, and recognition through a common liturgical (public) blessing.¹² Regardless of current definitions or redefinitions, the basic elements have not changed.

The definition offered here is the only one in my experience which allows for a meaningful theological and sociological discussion. The family may take a variety of forms fitting this general definition. It may be a single parent family with multiple siblings; it may be a dual-parent family; it may be a childless couple; it may have relatives attached to it, either by blood or desire; it may be churched or unchurched; it may be hurting with emotional or physical handicaps. This definition does not presume to include only those groups which are functioning well either socially or spiritually, but does assume that the family in its essence must *intend* to be a community. Without this communal emphasis we cannot speak of the basic goal of Christian marriage or family, providing trust, intimacy, and growth of personhood as foundational for theosis.¹³

¹² See Constantelos, *Marriage*, pp. 51-52; and Meyendorff, *Marriage*, pp. 23-27.

¹³ It should be noted that I am working with a rather narrow definition in the context of contemporary Christian educators, such as Gabriel Moran and Dolores Curran, who operate from a sociological perspective. During the past two decades different forms of "families" have arisen so that sociologists have difficulty using the term scientifically; there is a tendency to refer to any person living in any relationship with another, usually in one household, as a family. Margaret Sawin, the respected American Baptist founder of the Family Cluster Model of education, illustrates this confusion in definition when, for example, she speaks of "homosexual families;" see Margaret Sawin, "Community and Family: Growing in Faith Through Family Clusters," in Maria Harris (ed.), *Parish Religious Education* (New York, 1978), p. 50, and Gabriel Moran, "Community and Family: The Way We Are: Communal Forms and Church Response," in *ibid.*, p. 34, emphatically notes: "This love [the homophile relationship] is especially challenging to the classification of people as married or single because lovers are neither isolated individuals nor are they getting together to have children." Their definitions are so broad and all inclusive as to be virtually useless for my purposes inasmuch as they are so radically out of keeping with Orthodox tradition. It is my concern

Regardless of its specific form, quality, or spiritual or emotional ambiguity, the family is the foundation of human life. It is the basic biological unit which has served humanity since the beginning of civilization in socializing its children and traditioning its cultural or spiritual life. In spiritual and scriptural tradition, the family is the paradigm of all community and all love. Love for humankind grows not as an abstraction but in the immediacy and intensity of the family life; it is this love which is the foundation of our love for God (1 Jn 4.21). Any institution, including the Church, is community inasmuch as it manifests the qualities of the "family." The "family" of God means little except in the context of that human community created between two people within a system of larger relationships which define its internal dynamics and open it to the world outside of it.

The Christian family must have its focus outside of itself in another, transcendent reality; it is this "other" reference point which enables it to focus on the spiritual or social realities. There can be no genuine community composed of possessive individuals.¹⁴ One author writes:

Christianity breaks open the family, especially the extended family, and sees it as secondary to the Kingdom. The family is a means and not an end.¹⁵

The family is community par excellence; but it is also community disabled by sin. It remains a human community with all its limitations

that we as a Church in North America become aware of our theology, tradition, and customs in keeping with those traditions so that we can attempt to shape the future in a practical manner rather than in the form of a reaction. This problem of definition is symptomatic of the fact that the family is not certain what its purpose or function is. Not only is there a Freudian-induced uncertainty described recently by Marie Winn, *Children Without Childhood* (New York, 1981), pp. 98-99, but the phenomenon of the "executive parent" described by Kenneth Keniston, *All Our Children* (New York, 1977), pp. 12-22, as the parent dependent on other agencies to manage his children, performing roles once the exclusive province of the parents, including Christian education. Keniston claims that parents have not abdicated their functions as much as those functions have been removed by agencies.

¹⁴ Jean B. Elstain, "Feminism and Family," *American Educator*, 7 (Summer, 1983) Elstain offers an analysis of the negative relationship of feminism to the family which is typical of the more traditionalist approach of the American Federation of Teachers. See Saint John Chrysostom, *Homily 20 on Ephesians*, p. 149, on the destructive nature of the word *mine*. Also see, C. S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters* (New York, 1960), pp. 106-10

¹⁵ Sidney Callahan, *Family Religious Education* (Washington, D.C., 1974), p. 20

and potential. Even though the family as educator is usually treated in the ideal, it cannot be discussed apart from the "fallenness" of the world. After almost two acts of intra-familial plots, patricides, adulteries, sibling rivalries, and intense family hatreds, James Goldman's *The Lion in Winter* portrays Eleanor of Aquitaine saying: "Well, what family doesn't have its ups and downs."¹⁶

This ambiguity does not gainsay the centrality of the family in Christian life as a formative agency. The family is potentially the place where men and women learn to be men and women.¹⁷ People are by nature communal. Even celibacy or monasticism makes sense only in the context of the family as mutualistic paradigm and is justified only in the context of a fallen world, a world misshapen by sin and separation. In a world whose purpose was clear and unidirectional the family would be the norm as the Genesis account (Gen 2.18) makes clear. The fact remains that the Church institutionalized celibacy in a communal format, in the cenobium—the anchorite remaining the rare, albeit venerated, exception to the rule of communal existence. Saint Basil the Great, the father of eastern and to an extent western monasticism, describes his monastic community in the mutualistic terms of family life. The goal of any community is nurture for salvation. For Saint Basil the cenobia are, like families, communities in which men and women can and must struggle with being human, social, and sinful. What is there about community/family that is both fundamental and foundational for spiritual and pre-theological development? Saint Basil offers significant insight into the social analogies of spiritual growth:

I consider that life passed in company with a number of persons in the same habitation (striving for the same objective), is more advantageous than the life of the solitary in many respects. My reasons are (1), that no one of us is self-sufficient as regards corporeal necessities, but we require one another's aid in supplying our needs. . . . Similarly (2), the solitary life, what is at hand becomes useless to us and what is wanting cannot be provided, since God, the Creator, decreed that we should require the help of one another, as it is written, so we might associate with one another (Ec 13.20). . . . And again (3), the doctrine of charity of Christ does not permit the individual to be concerned solely with his own private interests. . . . Furthermore (4), a person living in solitary retirement will not readily discern his own defects, since he has no one to admonish and correct him with mildness and compassion. . . .

¹⁶ James Goldman, *The Lion in Winter* (New York, 1966), p. 91.

¹⁷ Meyendorff, *Marriage*, pp. 59-60 also notes this function of the monastic.

Moreover (5), the majority of the commandments are easily observed by several persons living together, but not so in the case of one living alone. . . . Besides (6), if all we who are united in the hope of our calling (Eph 4.4) are one body with Christ as our Head, we are also members one of another (1 Cor 12.12). . . . In addition (7), since no one has the capacity to receive all spiritual gifts, but the grace of the Spirit is given proportionally to the faith of each (Rom 12 6), when one is living in association with others, the grace privately bestowed on each individual becomes the common possession of his fellows . . . each employs his own gift to enhance it by giving others a share, besides reaping benefits from the gifts of others as if they were his own.¹⁸

We find here in Saint Basil a brilliant rationale, both sociological and spiritual, for the common life. He is the spokesman of social mutuality, and each of his seven points, whether on the social, emotional, or spiritual plane, can be applied as well to the married or the monastic. The family then is not a hurdle to be overcome on the way to salvation, not a barrier to the Kingdom, but the very matrix of that salvation and locus of that Kingdom. It is clear for Basil: the social is not accidental to humankind; it is not *well being*, it is *being*. The same emphasis on mutualism is evident in Saint Clement of Alexandria who writes: "We admire monogamy and the high standing of single marriage, holding that we ought to share suffering with another and 'bear one another's burdens,' lest anyone who thinks he stands secure of himself should fall" (Gal. 6.2).¹⁹ Clement goes on to affirm that "Both celibacy and marriage have their own different forms of service and ministry to the Lord."²⁰

The family must be discussed, first, in the context of faith, growth, and Christian nurture and, second, in terms of learning or education. If the family is the educator of first resort, the educator par excellence, it is so not in the terms of any schooling-instructional paradigm, but in terms of a socialization paradigm which refers to the family as the place where the ability to "faith" is born and nurtured in a community of intimacy. John H. Westerhoff in his *Will Our Children Have*

¹⁸ Saint Basil of Caesarea, *The Longer Rules* 7, PG 31 928-29

¹⁹ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, Book 1 3, trans J E L Oulton and H Chatwich (Library of Christian Classics II, Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 41-42. In general, however, Clement was negative on sexual intercourse, even in the condition of marriage; see George W Forrell, *History of Christian Ethics* (Minneapolis, 1979), pp 61-88

²⁰ *Ibid* , p 77

Faith?²¹ affirms what we—parents, priests, and teachers—have intuited: You cannot teach children faith, but you can teach them *about* religion.²² Faith comes as a gift of God to a person willing and able to receive it and such is the Orthodox doctrine of synergistic anthropology.²³ There are sound theological, spiritual, and pedagogical reasons for this distinction. First, faith cannot be taught; it comes as an unmerited gift of God to an ‘open’ person, who must be able and willing to cooperate with it. The foundations for this *synergeia*—trust, personhood, intimacy—are laid in the family. Our *ability* to receive grace and our *willingness* to cooperate with it are factors which cannot be ignored without gainsaying the reality of human freedom and the structure of human development in communities.

Second, the material of Christian learning, like that of secular learning—the dates, numbers, names—should not be taught by parents. Schooling in the informational, instructional sense does not properly belong to parents! This conclusion may be violated only at the risk of great harm to sound educational principles as well as the parents’ mental health. The experience of this writer and many educators is that parents do not have sufficient objectivity to assume a didactic role with their own children. The role of the family in the nurture (formation) of its members, both young and old, is far more foundational than any didactic function it might try to serve. It is this last point which I will seek to develop in the remainder of this paper.

The first objective of the ministry of the family is the growth and nurture of healthy personalities. A healthy personality is the product of a healthy family; a healthy Christian personality is the product of a healthy Christian family. The family is the primary determinant of the child’s later religious and spiritual life, attitudes, and beliefs because within it human interaction is both intensive and extensive. The type of teaching which makes for Christian growth—spiritual and moral—can only happen in the family as a community described above by Saint Basil. In fact, Christian education did not move into the schooling-instructional paradigm until the sixteenth century when education in a

²¹ (New York, 1976), p. 23, for example. Westerhoff’s book has received good review elsewhere by this author. With few exceptions, most Orthodox will feel comfortable with Westerhoff’s approach:

Faith can be inspired within a community of faith, but it cannot be given to one person by another. Faith is expressed, transformed, and made meaningful by persons sharing their faith in an historical, tradition-bearing community of faith.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²³ John L. Boojamra, “Socialization as a Historical Model for Christian Integration,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly*, 25 (1981) 219-39.

didactic sense became a propaganda tool for the churches of both the reformation and the counter-reformation. It did not characterize the Eastern Church, by design or accident; it certainly did not characterize the early Church. On the early Church, Henri Marrou has written:

Christian education of children, through which they learn to share in the treasury of the faith, to submit to a healthy discipline in the matters of morals, was the parents' fundamental duty. There was more in this than was contained in the Roman tradition: it was essentially a continuation of the Jewish tradition, which emphasized the importance of the family in the development of religious consciousness. And this duty could not be delegated; the early Church would have had sharp words to say about 'Christian' parents of to-day who think they have done all that is required of them when they have passed their children over to a teacher or an institution.²⁴

Baptism and the Family

We begin with baptism, the beginning of life for the Christian person. By the baptismal event we are reborn into God's family. It is only in the perspective of the theology of baptism, chrismation, and eucharist, the 'sacrament' of initiation that we can build a theory and practice for family-life and family-centered catechesis. The act, however, is essentially meaningless unless the child's parents and god-parents bear the faith of the Church and are themselves faithful. We must as pastors, parents, and educators ask what the act of baptism means when the parents are not faithful Orthodox. Is it only because of the faith of the family that a child can be offered for baptism at all?²⁵ The very fact of infant baptism can be justified only in the context of the solidarity of the family. The baptism of the child is immediately related to the faith of the parents; he is baptised by the

²⁴ Henri I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lambe (New York, 1956), p. 314. See also Lukas Vischer "Introduction into the Life of Faith in the Early Church," *RISK*, 2 (1st quarter, 1966) 40-46. There tended to be a central role for the family as is evident in the lecture of Saint John Chrysostom, *On Vainglory and How Parents Should Bring Up Their Children*, trans. M. L. W. Laistner, in *Christianity and Pagan Culture* (Ithaca, 1951), as the matrix of education, the role of the father was particularly significant.

²⁵ See John L. Boojamra, *Baptism, the Way to Life* (Englewood, 1979), for an example of a pre-baptismal program for parents, highlighting their responsibilities for the faith of the child. For a strong Roman Catholic statement on this, see Ferdinand Klosterman, "Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity," in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II* (New York, 1969), 3, p. 339.

faith of his parents, possessing none properly his. After the act of baptism the child is largely a passive participant in a process whereby the parents agree that they will be responsible for his nurture in the faith of the Church. The faith, however, is modeled by the behavior of the parents; in a real sense the faith is enfleshed in their lives and, for the child, only in them.²⁶ Peer-group influence is very often by default and may in fact be considerable only by passive neglect.²⁷

Many sociological studies, especially those of Andrew Greeley and William McCready, affirm that the influence of the family far exceeds the traditional claims that the family is a model in the formative years and that its influence is far greater than any influence that peers might have.²⁸ Greeley and Rossi have found, for instance, that the 'religiousness' of adults was greater when they had been raised in a family of 'lively' faith. They write:

If our data from the past are any indication of the present situation, Catholic education is virtually wasted on three-fourths of those in Catholic schools because of the absence of a sufficiently religious family milieu.²⁹

The family is not just the principal educator but the educator of such importance that the influence of all other factors is at best marginal. Potvin, Hoge, and Nelson, in a study for Boys Town Center for the Study of Youth Development and the Catholic University of America, conclude:

The most important predictors of religiosity as measured by these indices (religious behavior) are parental religious practice and whether or not the adolescent is currently studying religion. . . . Nonetheless these appear to be no substitute for a religious home environment and for religious instruction if adolescents are to remain committed to their religious heritage.³⁰

Note that no one is here speaking of the development of faith. The family, as the Church, cannot impose faith or force it; it can only set

²⁶ M. Sawin, "Community," p. 42.

²⁷ William McCready, "The Family and Socialization," in Andrew Greeley, *The Family in Crisis or in Transition* (New York, 1979), p. 27.

²⁸ Andrew Greeley, *The New Agenda* (New York, 1975), p. 244.

²⁹ Andrew M. McCready and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Garden City, 1968), p. 116.

³⁰ Raymond Potvin, Dean Hoge, and Hart Nelson, *Religion and American Youth, with Emphasis on Catholic Adolescents and Young Adults* (Washington, D.C., n.d.), p. 21.

the stage to allow grace to happen in the life of the child.³¹ For the Fathers of the Church grace is not a thing, it is an encounter, a meeting with the living person, Jesus Christ. The aim of Christian life and nurture is to permit the growth of theosis through a life-long encounter with Christ. Correct doctrine is valuable not as an academic exercise, but as a model which arises from faith and at the same time allows faith to happen. From the human side of *synergeia*, I would suggest that this encounter exercises the same emotional and personality faculties as are employed in a normal personal relationship.

Dethroning the Children

The contemporary sociological findings on the influence of the family are both sobering and exciting; their weakness, however, is that they continue to treat family and marriage in terms of children. In the tradition of the Church, the consensus seems to be that children are necessary to family life, but not sufficient. Marriage and physical love are not justified by children! Father Elchaninov writes:

In fleshly love, *besides* its intrinsic value as such, God has granted the world a share in His own omnipotence: man creates man, a new soul is brought into being.³²

The wedding ceremony implies that the relationship will come to fruition in child bearing and rearing; there is, however, no sufficiency in this. At least by implication the meaning of marriage changes from the Old Testament to the New Testament which nowhere focuses on procreation as the justification for marriage. "Not a single New Testament text mentioning marriage points to procreation as its justification or goal."³³ Meyendorff further asserts this interpretation by noting that Christ's prohibition of divorce, except for fornication (Mt 5.32; 19.9; Mk 10.11; and Lk 16.18), indicates that the relationship between the husband and wife is eternal and an end in itself; it cannot be clouded by a necessity such as posterity or family solidarity (as in Judaism). Again, Elchaninov comments:

Marriage, fleshly love, is a very great sacrament and mystery. Through it is accomplished the most real and at the same time the mysterious of all possible forms of human relationships. And qualitatively, marriage enables us to pass beyond

³¹ John Meyendorff, *Living Tradition* (Crestwood, 1978), p. 38

³² Elchaninov, *Diary of a Russian Priest* (London, 1967), p. 46; italics added

³³ Meyendorff, *Marriage*, p. 15

all the normal rules of human relationship and to enter a region of the miraculous, the superhuman.³⁴

The family, then, has children but is not defined by children. The schooling instructional paradigm has emphasized the family in terms of its service to its children; this, in my opinion, is a distortion of the New Testamental and patristic understanding of the family. The fact is that the family does not exist for its children; it exists for all its members, but especially for its spouses, and their mutual love. If their mutual love is an exclusive, closed-in relationship, however, it is demonic. Certainly, one of the legitimate functions of the family is the nurturing of its children, but it is not its only function; if it were, we would have to conclude that marriage, including the sexual contact that legitimately expresses love, should come to an ending with the desire and ability to bear children. Similarly, it is not by accident that the duration of many modern marriages seems to be that of childhood, the end of which signals the end of the parents' life together. It is my conclusion that what keeps parishes from giving attention to family-centered and family-life catechesis is the difficulty of separating religious education from its associations with childhood. Presumably, people without children should not be a part of a family-life or family-centered program.

On the basis of traditional belief and modern research, it is time to move away from the sixteenth-century emphasis on childhood education, away from a child-centered and content-centered to a family-centered and family-life catechesis. On the contrary, the Orthodox Church behaves as if becoming a member of the Church was always a schooling enterprise. A sense of desperation forces us to see the child as the end of the educational process rather than the beginning. The sooner we break the mold, given the tendency to teach as we were taught, the more effective will be the Church's educational ministry.

Family Systems: A Proposal for Parish Planning

The family is made up of members who relate to one another and to those outside of the family by a complicated series of interactions. People do not live in one particular social situation or one dimension of a social situation; they rather are tending to play an increasing number of roles in an increasingly complex societal structure.

³⁴ Elchaninov, *Diary*, p. 46.

On the possibilities of these interactions, Meyendorff alludes to a similar effect:

[The Fathers of the Church] knew, sometimes much better than modern psychologists, that the human instinct of love and procreation is not isolated from the rest of human existence, but is its very center.³⁵

Thus, it is particularly valuable to consider systems thinking and the relatively recent study of families as parts of systems. A systems approach, distantly derived from operations research during the Second World War and more proximately from the computer industry, eschews Cartesian isolation in favor of a holistic and contextual approach to components. For the parish planning a family-centered and family-life ministry, a systems approach permits focus on the experience of the family as central for each of its members as well as focus on the family as part of the Church and society. The complexity of the interpersonal interactions within the family and between the family and the world around it enables us to look on it as a system much like other systems. "It is axiomatic in systems thinking about family that the disturbance/dysfunction of one member manifests a group problem."³⁶ Samuel Natale of Fordham University's Graduate School of Religion and Religious Education writes,

Recently psychological thinking, especially in the field of systems theory, confirms what common sense has told us all along: the family is the institution primarily responsible for the development of its members, particularly in their formative years.³⁷

Natale, a specialist in human development, emphasizes the multi-relational nature of the familial community. Family systems enables educators and pastors to see people in the context of the web of relationships in which they live, learn, and grow. As will be emphasized later, the quality and nature of these various relationships determine the foundational pre-theological traits for the development of faith-life.

A systems approach enables us to see children in larger perspective as part of a complicated series of relationships which condition their development and nurture, rather than as an isolated group to be "schooled" out of childhood and into Christianity. In addition to focusing on the child as a dynamic interactor in the family, a systems

³⁶ S. Minuchin, *Families and Family Therapy* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 133.

³⁷ Samuel Natale, "Family Therapist: An Emerging Role for Ministry," Gloria Durka and Joanmarie Smith (eds.), *Family Ministry* (Minneapolis, 1980), p. 131.

approach enables us to view the educational enterprise as encompassing the entire family, several or more families, the neighborhood, the parish, the public school, social service agencies, and so forth. In fact, my experience in Christian education has been that Orthodox ignore this obvious systems approach in spite of the tight ethnic nature of their communities which makes for precisely the web of relationships which provide for an effective educational ministry to the whole person. Our tendency to focus on the child, instead of the family, has forced us into the pattern of education that ignores systems and violates what we believe about the family, the child, and the nature of the local eucharistic community. We have, in fact, focused so intensely on the child and childhood education that the parish, itself, has contributed to the family's disorientation. Through its child-centered education program and its emphasis on the schooling-instructional paradigm at the expense of worship, the parish has, for example, separated the members of the family at precisely the times when they are the family par excellence, in the Eucharistic celebration. The school model would in itself be tolerable, if in implementing the model the children were not isolated from the rest of the parish and the common worship of the Church; when they do attend, invariably they attend as a discrete group, not sitting with their parents. We have come to dissociate family ministry from childhood education, as if the latter were an untouchable divine given. If it is untouchable, it is because we have no perspective—either sociological, theological or historical—for another approach.³⁸

When we discuss the family as a teaching/learning agency, we are obliged to consider its potential for all its members. A family systems approach enables us to start from a sound theological and sociological perspective and to treat the various relationships which together constitute family life. These relationships include those between spouses as parents, between spouses as lovers, between parents and children, between the mother and the children, between the father and the children, as well as those innumerable possible relationships outside of the immediate family unit with other families, children, the parish priest, as institutions, community agencies, the parish, the neighbors. Finally, it includes the relationship of the family members to the faith of the Church, the *paradosis*, as well as the community of the faith. A systems approach enables us to understand the socialization model as the one most adequate to the nurturing process in the Orthodox

³⁸ For an analysis from a Roman Catholic perspective, see Dolores Curran, "Family Ministry and the Parish: Barriers and Visions," in Durka and Smith, pp. 2-23

faith.³⁹ An educational ministry focusing on the family as a system and as part of systems is the foundational perspective for family-centered and family-life catechesis.

The nature of an educational program depends on the relationship on which the parish chooses to focus as central at a particular time and place. If, as I am here doing, we are talking about the ministry of the family to its members (family-centered catechesis), then a program for spouses as parents might focus on parenting skills and moral development; a program for teens might focus on morality and getting along with parents. What a family systems approach helps us to do is to break the family down into its various aspects and to treat them in relationship to one another. It reminds us that the family is not a monolith, with an immediate relationship to God, isolated from the rest of the social or parochial order; neither is it the romanticized ideal imagined by celibates and lovers. The family as community is a combination of needs and interests which can become the occasion for an effective family-life or family-centered ministry if we only recognize the interconnectedness of the unit. Once we treat it as a system, we can break out of the mystique of the family as an isolated and perfect nuclear unit. Only when we see it as real (related) and fallen can we facilitate its functioning.

Relationships Within the Family

Religious socialization is a process focusing on the origins of religious thought, attitudes, and behaviors, and how and to what extent these are transmitted through the family from one generation to another. To the extent that this does not happen, we have a deracinated family, a family whose members are out of touch with their spiritual heritage and consequently have no direction. John Elias of Fordham has written:

Socialization takes place within the family because children so identify with the family as a group that its ways become part of their own selves. The family is the first reference group whose values, norms, and practices one assimilates and uses to evaluate the values, norms, and behavior of others.⁴⁰

The pattern of interaction that children see within the family become models for their own interaction with others. We have long known that

³⁹ See Boojamra, "Socialization," pp. 220-21.

⁴⁰ John Elias, "The Christian Family as Moral Educator," in Durka and Smith, p. 37

the young child is a product of the interaction among himself, his parents, and other siblings. Researchers have come to realize that the quality of the development was dependent on the quality of the relationship between the two parents as determinants of the ambience of the family unit.⁴¹ Hence, from a spiritual, emotional, and pedagogical point of view the single most significant relationship in the child's life is that between his mother and his father, contrary to the common belief that it is the one between the child and the mother; the parents' mutual love, sharing, concern, affection, ability to talk and to serve one another's needs are most significant in the child's formation as a person. Lucie Barber writes of the research of Hiltz:

[At Notre Dame] he began researching the development of the young child. Basically, the research suggested that the young child was a product of the interaction of himself and his parents along with the siblings. Happy with this insight, Hiltz then began to realize that the quality of the interaction was dependent upon the quality of the interaction between the husband and wife. This was precedent to the interaction with the child and also was the dependent factor as to the quality of the parental interaction with the young child in the developing of his/her self concept.⁴²

These findings have been refined and applied to Roman Catholic families by William McCready who discovered that the quality of the intimacy of the parental relationship has a significant impact on the religious socialization of the child:

Those families in which the parents have a warm and loving relationship provides a more secure base for the transmission of basic value orientation, especially those concerning the importance and meaning of life which are symbolized in religious attitudes and behaviors.⁴³

He continues that the "quality of parental relationships is often a stronger predictor of adolescent behavior than is parental behavior itself."⁴⁴ This is a sobering conclusion for parents who have long

⁴¹ See, for example, Lucie Barber, John Hiltz, and Louise Skoch, "Ministry to Parents of the Little Child," *Religious Education*, 74 (May/June, 1974) 264.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ William McCready, "The Family and Socialization," in Andrew Greeley, *The Family*, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 33.

believed that children pay more attention to what parents do with regard to the Church than to how they behave towards one another.

Even more significant for parents and priests, but certainly in keeping with the earlier tradition of the Church and the ecclesiastical role of men in general, is the significance of the father. Recent studies indicate the centrality of the father in the religious development and nurturing of both male and female children.⁴⁵ Andrew Greeley has taken up McCready's research and notes that:

An analysis of the parochial school data by my colleague, William McCready, leaves no doubt at that the most important predictor of religious performance of children is the religious behavior of their parents (and particularly their fathers) and the quality of the relationship between their mothers and fathers.⁴⁶

If McCready's and Greeley's research is valid, they will have demonstrated that parents, and particularly the fathers, are so fundamental to spiritual and religious development that all other institutions can be considered effectively marginal.

The father's role has from the time of the early Church eroded to the point where education and even attendance and membership is seen primarily as a female function. To a great extent the immigrant mentality among the Orthodox has accelerated the erosion of male leadership/presence in the family. Perhaps the first step to a renewal of family life, generally, and family-life catechesis, specifically, is the creation of an awareness among fathers of their spiritual importance. More must be expected of fathers than fellowship meetings and building maintenance committees. Certainly, the first step is to educate them,⁴⁷ as to their own importance and, the second, to design programs on the parish level to enable fathers to fulfill their roles as spiritual leaders more responsibly. We will find that fathers, like most people, are eager to

⁴⁵ Gabriel Moran, "The Professions and the Family," in Durka and Smith, p. 127. Also on the new centrality accorded the father in the family structure, see Maureen Green, *Fathering* (New York, 1977), Eliot Daley, *Father Feeling* (New York, 1978); and Harold Isaacs, "Rediscovering Fathers," *American Educator*, 7 (Fall, 1983) 23-25.

⁴⁶ Andrew Greeley, *Agenda*, p. 242. See also Andrew Greeley, William McCready, and K. McCourt, *The Catholic School in a Declining Church* (Kansas City, 1976), for a complete discussion of the statistical findings of the National Opinion Research Center.

⁴⁷ It is not inappropriate for an Orthodox parish to focus its educational energies on education for *role fulfillment*, examining various relationships within a family system from a scriptural, traditional, and societal perspective. In general, people are highly motivated to fulfill their roles more effectively.

learn to do a job better if they know what it is and that they can be successful at it. Education for role-fulfillment is self-motivating.

These findings fit well with this writer's experience that Christianity is an adult's religion; its concepts and stories are not suited to the child's mental structure. The child's spiritual task as he grows and develops as a Christian person is to make sense out of Christian reality by being part of an adult community; he makes sense out of the Church and its faith by seeing what the adults around him do with it—their love, hope, trust, faith and faithfulness. Their experience of trustworthy adults is foundational to their maturing faith-life.⁴⁸ This is, of course, the pattern of Jesus who not only taught adults but used peculiarly adult images. This must be our pattern as we plan for a total parish ministry.

This is perhaps one of the most difficult points for parents and pastors to accept since it involves trusting the faith life of the child, his Christian development, to the quality of the spiritual and emotional life of the home. Some religious educators short-circuit the risk by adopting the schooling-instructional model of Christian education. They prefer, like many parents who refuse the sobering conclusions of McCready and Greeley, to isolate specific functions rather than see education as nurture, as a holistic developmental process within the Church as a community.

One hundred and twenty years ago Horace Bushnell, one of the pioneers of American religious education, noted in his *Christian Nurture* (1847) that the child learns by what he sees happening around him; "no truth is really taught by words, or interpreted by intellectual and logical method; truth must be lived into meaning, before it can be truly known."⁴⁹ Does this conclusion not find a theological parallel when, *mutatis mutandi*, Meyendorff writes: "The role of the Church is not, therefore, to impose upon man's mind some truth which otherwise he is unable to perceive, but to make him live and grow in the Spirit, so that he himself may see and experience the Truth."⁵⁰ The family for the person, like the Church for its members, is the matrix of faith development. This parallel cannot be ignored any more than the implications of Ephesians 5.25 for marriage.

⁴⁸ Westerhoff, *Will Our Children*, p. 92.

⁴⁹ Horace Bushnell, *Christian Nurture* (New Haven, 1947), p. 204; Bushnell, an early nineteenth-century liberal, was prepared to admit the young child to the full worship of the church, even to holy communion; *ibid.*, p. 63. For an excellent, albeit brief, treatment of *Christian nurture*, see Randolph C. Miller, "Bushnell, the Family and Children," in *Religious Education*, 74 (May/June, 1979) 254-62.

⁵⁰ Meyendorff, *Tradition*, p. 41.

Theological Rationale

Several pre-theological and theological principles and themes enable us to understand the family as a spiritual reality. In pursuing these themes I am moving beyond the biblical affirmations that "it is not good that man should be alone" (Gen 2.18), that "for this reason does a man leave his father and mother and cleave unto a wife" (Gen 2.24, Mt 19.5, Mk 10.7), and beyond statements that center on the mystery of Christ and his Church (Eph 5.25) and Israel and YHWH (Ps 25, 51, 90; Is 2; Jer 3).⁵¹

I would like to deal with three pre-theological frames of reference for the family: (1) the family is the source of trust/love; (2) the family is the source of personhood/identity; and (3) the family is the source of community/intimacy. In no way do I mean to imply that these are the only possible frames; they are, however, categories which I have found useful in making sense out of the Christian family in theological and sociological terms as foundational to Christian nurture.

The Family as the Matrix of Trust/Love:

Growing in faith is a multidimensional phenomenon intertwined with personality developments that condition the very content of the faith experience and the person's perception of that experience; were this not so, then every saint would manifest the same sanctity when, in fact, we can discern as many types of holiness as there are saints. Such is the incarnational modality! In addition, faith is a life-long growth process rooted in trust and love. When we discuss the family, we are discussing not only a child-centered learning/teaching community but a community in which all members grow in faith to degrees and in styles that are characteristic of their age and personality.

Erik Erikson's approach to the emotional development of the human person provides several convenient categories in which to approach Christian nurture.⁵² His work focuses on eight stages, or life crises, which are described as necessary to human growth. The resolution of these crises is necessary for continued and healthy emotional development. His four stages or crises through childhood are trust/mistrust, autonomy/shame and doubt, initiative/guilt, and industry/

⁵¹ On the place of Ephesians 5:25 in Byzantine Christian tradition, see Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York, 1974), pp. 196-99.

⁵² John Elias, *Psychology and Religious Education* (Bethlehem, 1975), pp. 35-36. For a brilliant application of his theories to religious development, see Erik Erikson, *Young Man Luther* (New York, 1958).

inferiority.⁵³ For the sake of this paper, I will consider only the first crisis, that between trust and mistrust. Like any model involving people, this one has its drawbacks and certainly its exceptions, but what remains significant for parents and pastors is the foundational nature of human trust as a pre-theological personality characteristic. The religious dimension for Erikson has its roots in the trusting relationship between the mother and child. The developmental task of infancy is the achievement of basic trust. No human person can be a human person in a healthy and Christian sense if he cannot trust the world, the people around him, and his God. In fact, Peter Berger lists as his first "Rumor of Angels," or sign of the transcendent, the underlying order of the universe evident in a mother's caring affirmation to the frightened or hurting child that "It's alright; everything will be fine."⁵⁴ Love, like faith, is an active virtue. Ultimately, the ability to trust parents and the ability to trust God exercises the same personality faculty; a healthy personality is integral and whole. The child comes to know through his parents that the world which God has made is reliable and trustworthy, Father Elchaninov writes: "Man enters deeply into the texture of the world through his family alone."⁵⁵ Less than this ability is clinically neurotic.

Trust is best communicated in the family where the relationships are extensive, intensive, and reliable. In the primal relationship of mother-father-infant the child's immediate needs are met. Meeting the child's needs, the root of the trusting capacity, is as urgent to him as the mystic's need for a sense of the presence of God. All must stop before the 'dirty diaper!' The child can only know God through his parents' touch, whether it fills the stomach, changes his diaper, or fondles the skin. The need for this, though foundational for the infant, does not leave; even as adults 'skin hunger' needs must be met. The touch is healing because it conveys love. Incarnational love—'love-with-flesh-on-it'—is real love; love without 'touch' is counterfeit.

The home is, in principle, the place for children to learn that they can risk failure and still be accepted by their parents; only when children can risk making mistakes can they grow into maturity. The person who is paralyzed by fear, of whatever origin, is the person unable to take the risk and trust God with his life or die for someone else. The family,

⁵³ Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York, 1950), p. 65ff. Understanding Erikson's crises as well as Piaget's stages enables teachers, parents, and pastors to understand the limitations as well as the opportunities offered by each period; see T. Litz, "The Family as the Developmental Setting," in E. J. Anthony, et al., *The Child in His Family* (New York, 1970), p. 20.

⁵⁴ Peter Berger, *A Rumor of Angels* (New York, 1969), p. 69.

⁵⁵ Elchaninov, *Diary*, p. 46.

in a Rogersian sense, is a place of permissiveness, and I do not mean license, where children can grow in trust and autonomy, which in turn give birth to initiative and industry. A trusting person grows in an environment in which he can risk his ego, but risks are taken only with people whom we have come to trust/love. In fact, even when we speak of growth in faith through modelling, we must be aware that "the young will take seriously what they see taken seriously by others whom they have come to trust. The most important teaching about morality is done by living example."⁵⁶ Margaret Sawin, author of the family clustering model of family-centered education, writes that only when persons develop security and trust in themselves can they then have the courage to risk and respond in faith to challenges.⁵⁷ Trust is learned in relationship with trustworthy others, not in a school room.

It is not by chance that children raised in homes with severe, excessive, and harsh discipline emerge as untrusting, fearful, and deeply prejudiced people.⁵⁸ Children who cannot trust, can learn to love only with great difficulty. Steele and Pollock, for instance, have noted that most of the persons in their study of child abusers were affiliated with some religious group and were mainly from the "strong, rigid, authoritative, 'fundamentalist' type of belief."⁵⁹ Rigid, authoritarian parents are generally too insecure to trust responsibility to the child. Fundamentalists, as the Puritan tradition, have a pessimistic view of people.⁶⁰ The three-fold distinction in family organization described by

⁵⁶ William Bennet and Edwin Delatre, "A Moral Education," *American Educator*, 6 (Summer, 1982) 6

⁵⁷ Margaret Sawin, "Community and Family: Growing in Faith Through Family Clusters," in Maria Harris (ed.), *Parish Religious Education* (New York, 1978), p. 43.

⁵⁸ See the old but still very valuable work of Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Garden City, 1951).

⁵⁹ See C. Pollack and B. Steele, "A Psychiatric Study of Parents who Abuse Infants and Small Children," quoted in Kathryn Neufield, "Child Rearing, Religion, and Abusive Parents," *Religious Education*, 74 (May/June, 1979) 236. Certain studies indicate, for instance, that many fundamentalist Christian believers have personality profiles similar to child abusers. Many believe that children are innately depraved. Such was the basis for the generally negative view of childhood play among American Puritans. See Janet Fishburn, "The Family as Means of Grace in American Theology," *Religious Education*, 78 (Winter, 1983) 90-102, especially pp. 93-94. On the importance of play to emotional development, see Winn, pp. 77-83. Play is an area whose liturgical and ethical implications would provide a fruitful area of study for an Orthodox student.

⁶⁰ See L. D. Streiber and B. S. Strober, "Religion and the New Majority." On violence towards children in America, see D. G. Gill, *Violence Towards Children* (Cambridge, 1970).

by Herbert Gans in *The Urban Village: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans*,⁶¹ is particularly useful. He outlines the adult-centered, parent-dominated family which is run by adults and for adults; the child-centered and laissez faire permissive family, child-dominated; and, finally, the authoritative family that places great emphasis on self-development and growth of all of family members, children and adults. This latter pattern has the greatest potential for responsible development; it is characterized by interactive relationships in which the forces exerted by parents and children are in a healthy state of tension and by high levels of responsible, self-directed, behavior on the part of children.

The child who experiences only conditional love in the home will find it hard, if not impossible, to love himself, to believe, in turn, that he is loved by God, and, finally, to love others both in a sexual and filial sense. Love is a unity, and the ability to love one's self is immediately related to one's ability to love his God and his neighbor.⁶² Jesus knew exactly what he was saying when he urged his hearers to "Love your neighbor as yourself" (Mt 19.19). For the monastic fathers the movement was simultaneous, and they discussed love in terms of the image of God. In fact, we now learn from contemporary psychologists and common sense that mature love is an expression of self-esteem! Gregory of Nyssa is emphatic on the importance of love to the character of the image of God in people.⁶³ If love is absent or enfeebled, then the image is severely altered. The child learns to love in the home by first being loved. He can love because he was first loved (1 Jn 4.10; 4.19). Again, the parents are central—their lifestyles, first, and their words, second. Realistic parenting skills should aim at developing a positive self-concept in a pre-school child, remembering

⁶¹ Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans* (New York, 1962) chapter 5. Gans distinguished three manners of dealing with authority in the family. The family as locus of values must demonstrate a clear sense of its own authority. Authority has traditionally resided in the father; a good argument can be made for the case that it must reside in one person if authority is not to be an impersonal rather than an interpersonal force. Once authority is *personal*, it can be shared, as with the siblings as they mature into responsibility. See Moran, "Professions," in Durka and Smith, p. 109. For Bushnell, the family is the place of God-given authority; see Bushnell, p. 272, and Miller, pp. 260-61.

⁶² I am not using self-love in the patristic sense of *philautia*; see J. L. Boojamra, "Original Sin According to Saint Maximus the Confessor," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 20 (1976) 19-30. It is used here in the sense of the love of neighbor as self as in Matthew 19.19, 22.39, and Mark 12.31,33.

⁶³ Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Creation of Man*, PG 44.137. Also, Saint Basil the Great, 908.

that children behave, believe, and think out their awareness of themselves.

The Family as the Matrix of Personhood/Identity:

The second major pre-theological theme we find embodied in the Christian understanding of the family is the concept of personhood.⁶⁴ The person is a notion fundamental to any understanding of Orthodox Triadology, Christology, or Soteriology. The English word "person" well suits the meaning which came to be applied by the Cappadocians and Chalcedon to "hypostasis," referring basically to the "ego," the agent or locus of self-awareness. The notion of personhood is foundational to *theosis* because God reveals (shares) his life with persons who know who they are as well as who He is. In the theological notion of personhood we find a theological rationale for the family as matrix of pre-theological formation. To this point, Elchaninov writes:

We can live our entire life—and many in fact do—as a pale reflection and copy of someone else. The first and primary meaning of life is to be oneself, and from this to ascend to the transfiguration of oneself into the "image and likeness of God."⁶⁵

In all cultures, the family is the matrix of identity, imprinting its members with a sense of selfhood and personhood, which of necessity encompasses a sense of belonging and a sense of separation.⁶⁶ Here children can achieve a sense of their own identity, their connection and separation.⁶⁷ Personhood also has a social dimension. It includes the notion of who 'I' am in relationship to other persons. While the discussion of identity is peculiarly well suited to the adolescent person, children normally strive to determine their own identities from the time they are toddlers and use 'no' as a means of separating themselves from their parents.

Personhood is foundational not only because it is the basis of Orthodox theological formulations, but because the content of personhood is the basis of Christian morality. The awareness of self develops with the sense of personhood, and indeed moral and ethical

⁶⁴ It is this author's belief that the peculiar Orthodox contribution to family-life ministry, family-centered catechesis, and theological reflection on the family is the foundational theological reality of personhood.

⁶⁵ Elchaninov, *Diary*, p. 82

⁶⁶ S. Minuchin, p. 47.

⁶⁷ Samuel Natale, *Pastoral Counseling* (New York, 1977), p. 71

responsibility can be assumed only by those who have a firm notion of their personhood, of themselves as distinct, and, therefore, answerable. The notion of self, however, never occurs as abstraction. It occurs as notion of self as *something*. A firm notion of personhood develops over a period of years but should be completed sometime in the late teens as a prerequisite to adulthood. We *do*, however, expect that a child of seven can be confessed and can know 'good' from 'bad.' His knowledge of good, bad, acceptable, unacceptable will depend on his awareness of himself as something, a Christian or a 'good boy,' for instance. This self-awareness grows out of how adults relate to the child and what they tell the child about who he is; for Christians the second point would include telling the child who God says he is. Some time in the teen years we expect that a sense of personhood will provide the foundation for a mature notion of human sexuality and sexual interaction. For sex to be responsible, it must be between people who are old enough to have a notion of personhood. Without a clear sense of the personhood of the self and the other we can speak only about exploitation. The emotional and spiritual danger of adolescent sexual activity rests precisely in the fact that adolescents have, in general, not yet established a firm notion of personhood, especially their own. The 'other' remains an object.

The Orthodox doctrine of salvation as deification is also based on personhood simply because it is persons who are saved, whose awareness of themselves is transfigured by the grace of God. God relates to persons (not to natures), as one person to another. Our salvation is rooted in our identifying our personhood with the personhood of Christ, the Logos of God, the subject of the assumed humanity. Man discovers in Jesus Christ more than his true humanity. He discovers his true personhood. *Theosis*, therefore, is rooted in our personhood. Only as persons can we encounter Christ! Perhaps, more than in any abstract quality, such as freedom, love, intelligence, our personhood is the image of God within us.

The family as the matrix of personhood and identity remains central throughout life as the person seeks constancy, validation and plausibility in a society of throwaway relationships. Only the stability of the family can be the ongoing matrix of personhood. The historic importance placed on *stability of place* in monastic development, east and west, speaks to the same spiritual issue. In this context, we can more fully understand the sacramental nature of the family; it is such, however, only when we can discern in its functioning an element of congruency between its real experience, the *is*, and the mystery of the union of Christ and his Church, the *ought*.

As I have said elsewhere, the family's sense of its own spiritual heritage and where it belongs has much to say to the child's growing sense of who he is and where he belongs. Erikson notes, with sobering seriousness, that "the most deadly of all possible sins is the mutilation of the child's spirit."⁶⁸ Any pastoral ministry must aim at increasing the family's sense of its connection with the Church, a sense of heritage, belief, and celebration. Humanity is by nature *homo festivus*; it is through ritual and celebration that every group manifests its experience of reality. The child's identity, for instance, as an Orthodox, first develops around practices, not beliefs. He knows he belongs to a particular community by the rituals he shares with that community. What it is to be Orthodox is not defined by belief, but by practice. It is by 'practice' that he develops a distinct corporate identity.⁶⁹ Celebrations are by their nature communal and community-forming events; they tie us together in a shared experience which is at once horizontal with those we are living with, and vertical with those who have come before us and will come after.⁷⁰ These are essential to a child's sense of belonging as well as to adults' memories of a sense of belonging. It is ritual and celebration which remains in the life of the Christian person that element which overcomes the sense of alienation so characteristic of societies in rapid change. Dostoevsky, with insight we mistakenly associate only with clinical therapy, put the following to Alyosha Karamazov's mouth:

You must know that there is nothing higher and stronger and more wholesome and good for life in the future than some good memory, especially a memory of childhood, of home. People talk to you a great deal about your education, but some good sacred memory, preserved from childhood, is perhaps the best education. If a man carries many such memories with him into life, he is safe to the end of his days, and if one has only one good memory left in his

⁶⁸ Erikson, *Childhood*, p. 250.

⁶⁹ Robert L. Browning, "Festivity—From a Protestant Perspective," *Religious Education*, 75 (May/June, 1980) 273. For further reference, see Erik Erikson, *Toys and Reasons: Stages in the Ritualization of Life* (New York, 1977).

⁷⁰ See Roger D. Abrahams, "Celebrations Mark Great Occasions the World Around," *Smithsonian* 1, 112. In spite of the mobility of Americans, the author notes correctly that emotional stability is maintained by sharing old festivals with new people in new places.

heart, even that may sometime be the means of saving us.⁷¹

The family must be a teacher of celebration. Helm writes:

On no account should the family fail to serve every opportunity of using traditional celebrations, symbols and play so as to create high points in family life, to provide an atmosphere of intimacy, belonging, and trust and to bring order and meaning . . . to an otherwise threatening chaos.⁷²

Through celebrating our common salvation adults and children alike make the content their own and come to see themselves in terms of those celebrations. A family which has no liturgy and no celebration has no meaning; its children are deracinated and their personhood without focus.

The Family as the Matrix of Intimacy/Community:

The two previous categories, trust/love and personhood/identity, are closely related to the third, intimacy/community.

The New Testament does not give attention to intimacy in marriage, except, of all places, in the letter of Saint Paul to the Ephesians where he compares marriage to the relationship between Christ and his Church (Eph 5.25); by extrapolation to the Old Testament the same intimacy, taken from the image of Israel's relationship with YHWH, appears in the Song of Songs and the Psalms. Intimacy is one of the functions of marriage, yet, ethically, it is not an exclusive function; that is, it is not intimacy in the family community as opposed to intimacy in neighborhood or the parish; it is intimacy in the family as the basis for intimacy outside the family. The family is not sufficient to this and it is a mistake to believe that the nuclear family by itself can maintain intimacy. Hence, any family-life or family-centered catechesis must involve as much of the community as possible—liturgy, service, social, and educational activities.

The Church, essentially a conservative institution, must continue to provide elements of constancy (= world maintenance) in a society which offers no prospect of social or technological plateauing and, consequently, minimal stability. World maintenance is important not simply

⁷¹ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. Constance Garnet (Chicago, 1952), p. 411.

⁷² Walter Helm, "Religious Practice Within the Family: A Contribution to the Theology of Intimate Belonging in the Light of Popular Beliefs and Customs in the Past," in Greeley, *Family*, p. 87.

because it is the Church's nature, but because the disruption of the family, for example, has profound effect on the emotional and spiritual growth of the people of the Church. Divorce, for instance, is a social issue which is at once spiritual. One author notes:

I am persuaded that in the technobureaucratic city of most present day forms of government the family remains one of the few warm currents of humanity. If we allow this fundamental social material to decay, soon neither reform, nor revolution, nor the status quo will be possible, because the most basic human element will be absent.⁷³

The family is the child's first community in which he experiences intimacy, characterized best by security, warmth, and love. Without experiencing intimacy in this primal community, he will probably not find expression for his growing personhood and sense of personhood. In the intimacy that characterizes communal life, the child and adult experience the personhood of others and self; human interaction, based on consistency and commitment, feeds the growing sense of identity. Hence, one of the dilemmas with day care—the care of children by 'no-one-in-particular' or 'casual' communities—is the exclusion of the attachment necessary for intimacy as "prerequisite for human existence."⁷⁴ The intimacy of the family as community provides the foundation for meeting the 'outside' world and determines whether or not children will find it exciting and wonder-filled or hostile and terror-filled. In this sense the family lays the foundation for its own annihilation as children grow trustingly into the world outside, into the parish, into the school, into the neighborhood, and so forth. It is also this factor which places the Christian family at the root of social service and the struggle for justice. Indeed, if the family does not open the child to the world as a wonder-filled object of service, it has failed. Self-giving

⁷³ Jacques Grand'Maison, "The Modern Family: Locus of Resistance or Agency of Change?" in Greeley, *Family*, p. 58.

⁷⁴ C. Ellis Nelson, *Where Faith Begins* (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 10; at the same time that we are becoming aware of the importance of community for personal and emotional development and stability, we are experiencing a radical decline in the family as community as more and more mothers of school-age children work, leaving fewer significant adults with whom the child is able to interact. At the same time that the number of elderly is increasing, the number actually living with family members is decreasing significantly. For similar statistics, see Urie Brofenbrenner, *The Calamitous Decline of the American Family* (Washington, D.C., 1976). See also Mary Durkin, "Intimacy and Marriage: Continuing Mystery of Christ and the Church," in Greeley, *Family*, p. 76.

love, whose ultimate objective is the service of God's world, is learned in the warmth of the home.

The Family and Moral Development

Developmentally, children are ready for pre-ethical thinking between the ages of five and seven years, when they are ready for social (= mutual) play. Before five, children tend not to play together; even though with one another, they tend to play alone or in parallel.⁷⁵ Community is the opposite of *privatism* or the preoccupation with the self or an object (television or computer, for instance). Certain activities encourage *privatism* and inhibit moral development.⁷⁶ At around seven, children begin to play with each other and make rules; they begin to be able to project themselves mentally into different roles and perceive conflicts from different perspectives. This is referred to as role transfer, moral imagination, or role projection. The process is much more complicated, but the words of Atticus in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, make the point well enough:

"First of all," he said, "if you can learn a simple trick, Scout, you'll get along a lot better with all kinds of folks. You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view—" "Sir?"

"until you climb into his skin and walk around in it."⁷⁷

I am not suggesting that this is Christian morality; I am suggesting that the ability to think morally and empathically cannot develop without the ability to self-project; the development of projection is directly related to living in a community and, particularly in the case of young children, learning to play.

We can expect Christian and ethical behavior from a person whose mental development allows it, to the extent that he perceives himself as a Christian. This self-awareness derives from the family in two senses: first, in the sense that personhood and trust are grown there; second, in the sense that the family lays the foundation for a primitive type of morality, a morality of constraint, using power to control a child's behavior.⁷⁸ This primitive type of morality does not involve the

⁷⁵ See Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stages of Moral Development as a Basis for Moral Education," in C. H. Beck et al, *Moral Education: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Toronto, 1971), pp 86-88.

⁷⁶ Kohlberg has noted the danger of *privatism* in an interview in *The New York Times* emphasizing its negative implications for moral development of children; F. M. Hechinger, "Can Morality be Taught?", *The New York Times*, March 6, 1979, c1, c4.

⁷⁸ Ronald Duska and Mariellan Whelan, *Moral Development: A Guide to Piaget and Kohlberg* (New York), pp 7-11

freedom of which the child is not yet capable. Inasmuch as the family is essentially community and not an autocracy, the child is permitted to grow out of this heteronomous stage as the parents increasingly share leadership and responsibility.⁷⁹ In the community of family the child can take risks in experimenting with his behavior as he grows into an autonomy in which his behavior is governed from within. The development of autonomous morality is encouraged only through human interaction and for the school-age child most notably, again, in situations of play.

Children need a community, but not one structured on power and coercion, to develop this ability to think ethically.⁸⁰ Before this, parents can 'force' ethical behavior, such as sharing a toy, but they have not produced ethical thinking. Sharing is not a self-evident virtue for the infant or early child; it is a type of 'death' or 'theft.' Reciprocity makes no sense to a youngster until he can project himself into another's role. The initial stages of moral development depend upon a community and the interaction within that community. This interaction must become increasingly mutual as the child matures chronologically and outgrows his infantile egocentrism. It is not by accident that about the age of seven the child begins to go to confession and to take interest in the community outside of the immediate nuclear family.⁸¹

Finally, and more specifically, Christianity, as I have said, is an adult's religion and the child must make sense out of it by seeing what the faithful and trusted adults around him are doing with it. C. Ellis Nelson, a highly respected religious educator, writes:

My thesis is that faith is communicated by a community of believers and that the meaning of faith is developed by its members out of their history, by their interaction with each other, and in relationship to events that take place in their lives.⁸²

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 13-15, see also John Elias, "The Christian Family as Moral Educator," in Durka and Smith, p. 47

⁸⁰ Duska and Whelan, pp 112-13

⁸¹ Kohlberg's description of stages three and four in his schema of moral development emphasizes the social nature, focusing on group values and the meeting of group (nation, family, church, friends) expectations. Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stages of Moral Development and Moral Education," in Brenda Munsey (ed.), *Moral Development, Oral Education, and Kohlberg* (Birmingham, 1980), pp. 91-92 See Duska and Whelan, pp. 42-79 for an excellent introduction to Kohlberg's stages

⁸² C. Ellis Nelson, *Where Faith Begins* (Richmond, 1967), p. 10. It is because faith is communicated by the community that a strong argument can and should be made for all religious education beginning with adults. Also C. Ellis Nelson, "Our Oldest Problem," in Padraic O'Hare (ed.), *Transformation and Tradition in Religious Education* (Birmingham, 1979), p. 69.

The child discovers what it is to be a Christian not by being told what it means, but primarily by experiencing the reality of the living community, whether parish or family.

What sociologists seem to have missed in the socialization model of Christian development is the simple reality that whatever our belief system, our commitment to that system tends to be directly proportional to the quality, size, and extent of the community sharing it. It is not only the strength, quality, and consistency of the family's belief and value structures that influence a child; it is also the plausibility of those structures created by the size and frequency of contact with the parish community which affects the strength of the child's early commitment to a particular set of beliefs.⁸³

Whatever the theory of moral development, religious sociologists such as Uri Brofenbrenner have noted that the family as an immediate influence on the youths' moral standards is losing out to the peer group, and he sees this as a result of industrialization and its fragmentation of the family.⁸⁴ If this is true, it is by default; the Christian family is still the place where the child learns who he is and where he belongs. The family (1) is the source of security, sense of self, and sense of belonging, and (2) enables the child to know who he is as a Christian. It is this two-fold development which is the basis for Christian ethics. Only in a secondary sense does the moral education within the family consist of the presentation of 'rules.'

The Church must encourage and develop lateral relationship. The nuclear family constitutes a limited community. As one writer has noted: "The paradox is that the parents are too close, exclusive, 'caring,' and ubiquitous emotionally."⁸⁵ By definition, the nuclear family is stripped down and usually consists of a mother, a father, and one or two children. This small family unit creates problems unknown to the extended family. The power and influence of the peer group is correspondingly exaggerated. The nuclear family is crowded with emotions that can find no release; in the extended family there was always a grandparent, aunt, or uncle nearby to provide a safety valve for the children or the parents. If extended families do not or cannot exist due to mobility and distance, then the Church can and should attempt to provide this extended family by artificially creating an

⁸³ Peter Berger, pp. 34-35: "We obtain our notions about the world originally from human beings, and these notions continue to be plausible to us in a very large measure because others continue to affirm them."

⁸⁴ Uri Brofenbrenner, "The Role of Age, Sex, Class and Culture in Studies of Moral Development," *Religious Education*, 47 (1952) 3-17.

⁸⁵ Grand'Maison, p. 53

affective or faith circle. Alvin Toffler in his *The Third Wave*⁸⁶ holds out great hope for alternate family forms as the nuclear family collapses and continues only as one among numerous options for communal living.⁸⁷

The Church has tended to encourage diversified lateral relationships to expand the community and has itself provided for the "affective circle," characteristic of Toffler's First Wave family. This is true in the canonical incest taboos and spiritual relationships as well as in the tradition of the confessor (the *geron* or *staretz*); in *The Brothers Karamazov*, it is Father Zosima who keeps the Karamazov family 'open' to the outside world, keeps it from being consumed by its own internal squabbles. The godfather and the godmother have played the same role. I believe that in the context of the "affective circle" we can make sense out of the incest taboos unrelated to blood or gene pools.⁸⁸

Conclusions

We have suggested some theological foundations for the Christian family as the primal educator, not in terms of didactic techniques, but in terms of pre-theological formation. In the family the child grows in trust and love, in personhood and identity, and in his sense of intimacy and community. These human realities are the incarnational context in which parents share in God's work of creating free men and women who are open to his love and his grace. These then are both the basis and goal for a family-centered and family-life educational ministry.

⁸⁶ Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave* (New York, 1980), p. 227: "The coming of the Third Wave, of course, does not mean the end of the nuclear family any more than the coming of the Second Wave meant the end of the extended family. It means, rather, that the nuclear family can no longer serve as the ideal model for society." Orthodox will hardly be able to mourn its passing!! But what will replace it and how will the various possibilities conform to Orthodox definitions or experience of what a family is?

⁸⁷ Moran, pp. 82-83.

⁸⁸ For instance, see Canon 23 of Saint Basil, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 14, p. 606, which states "that a man ought not to marry two sisters [serially], nor a woman two brothers; that he who marries his brother's wife be not admitted until he dismisses her." Again, Canon 21 of Nikaia (325) speaks of incestuous marriages as contrary to the law of spiritual relation; the canon applied to godparents and prescribed a twenty year penance; (*ibid* , p. 47). Again, Canon 23 of the same synod speaks of prohibited marriages between spiritual brothers and sisters (*ibid.*), Canon 53 of the Quinisext Synod forbids marriage of godparents with a widowed parent of their godchild (*ibid* , p. 390) The obvious effect, regardless of the intent at a given time and place, of these canons was the extension of the affective community.

One need be neither a sociologist nor a pastor to know that the family is in trouble.⁸⁹ Rapid social changes are afoot, and the western technological capitalist world seems caught in a spiral of movement which knows no plateau as it moves towards the demassed society of Alvin Toffler's *Third Wave World*.⁹⁰ Rapid social change corrodes any human relationship, but particularly the family. In the last two to three hundred years it has, in fact, been one of the few social constants; Gabriel Moran has written that the "family is the center of concern because it has not collapsed and we can see it sagging under the weight of the communal burden."⁹¹ The family has changed little over the centuries and there is little likelihood it will change in the future. One futurist has noted, however, that while this might be the case, more and more people are choosing to live outside of the traditional family unit. This will create problems as more people find themselves in essentially unstable social relationships. The Church is called upon to provide more of the support that the extended family used to provide.

More conscientious Christian parenting begins with the discovery of the foundations of Christian family life and parenting; the second step is to consciously decide what we want to do to enable the family to conform to those foundations; the third step is to determine the methods needed to achieve the goals decided upon.

Several guidelines are in order. From a systems approach to family life and family-centered catechesis, we know that nothing happens to people in vacuums. The family must be treated as a unit and education programs designed for groupings of these units; the single learner is bankrupt because people do not live, learn, or develop alone. Family education must not be allowed to become a mask for adult education or a guise for teaching children. In addition, while we must understand that cognitive learning has been given priority over affective learning because it is easier to accomplish and to evaluate, it must not dominate family-life or family-centered catechetical programs. Neither, however, can it be ignored. Hence, we can speak of family-life and family-centered

⁸⁹ That the family and marriage is in trouble can hardly be doubted and easily demonstrated by no more than a reference to the steep rise in the rate of divorce and the absolute numbers of divorce. In addition, there are well over a million runaways a year, and a three-fold increase in suicide between the ages of fifteen and nineteen since 1956; see Edward Wynn, "Adolescent Alienation and Youth Policy," *Teachers' College Record*, 78 (September, 1976) 23-40.

⁹⁰ Toffler, pp 230-35.

⁹¹ Moran, *Education Toward*, p. 93.

educational ministries.⁹²

If the home does not assume the primary, though not exclusive, responsibility for the nurture of its children, then we are violating the theology we are so fond of touting. We will have a faith in one space and a family in another with no meaningful interaction; there will be no flesh on our theology, and theology without flesh is dead and deadly to its practitioners.

⁹² See Sandra DeGidio, *Sharing Faith in the Family A Guide to Ritual and Catechesis* (West Mystic, 1980); DeGidio lists family ministry programs centering on peer-group, family learning teams, family clusters, liturgics and sacraments. DeGidio's is a good introduction to these various programming formats and their relative success.

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Theology and the Science of Law

METROPOLITAN BARNABAS OF KITROS

I FEEL COMPELLED to express my heartiest thanks to the honorable Dean of the School of Law and Economics at the Aristotelian University of Thessalonike; Professor Constantine Sēmanteras, and the honorable Professor Constantine Vavouskos for the most noble and generous words that they said about my person concerning my humble contribution to the Church and scholarship. It is not merely enough for us to have accepted the great responsibility in the Church to preach and not to do our utmost to promote the message of Christ to our contemporary world, because we were given the knowledge of the divine Grace and live “under the light” of our divine Lord.

I bless the name of God for this opportunity. Equally, I express my warm thanks to all the honorable professors of this school. I am grateful to those who nominated me and for the unanimous vote to confer upon me the highest distinction, rarely given to the clergy, the degree of the Honorary Doctor of Law. With gratefulness, I accept this honor as given, not to me, but to the holy Church, in which we are, in every situation, its ministers and undoubted debtors.

On this campus I find this auspicious and opportune moment to express, in the presence of such a learned and wise faculty and such persons of high culture, some thoughts on the relations of the two sciences, that of theology and of law.

Certainly each of these disciplines moves in different fields. Theology is to be found more in the sphere of the divine, as the term etymologically means that it concerns itself with God and with the word of the divine truths.¹

Law concerns itself with justice, both in its objective and subjective interpretations. It concerns itself more with topics that are related to the reality of this world and, through the implementation of the laws

¹St. Gregory Palamas says that theology is “the vision of things about God and the dogmas of divine knowledge,” *Ὑπὲρ ἡσυχάζόντων*, ed. P. Chrestou, *Γρηγορίου Παλαμά, Συγγράμματα* (Thessalonike, 1962), 1, p. 245.

as well as the recommendation of "minimum moral imperative," regulates the social existence of human beings and their relations to the state.² In spite of these differences, we cannot overlook that there is a common ground between these two sciences in which a distinction is drawn between an internal and external relationship.

In the first place, the meaning of law, as the moral relation of human beings as associated with the foundation of the legal science, is also the meaning of religion and ethics. Law, in spite of the different theoretical aspects concerning its origin and nature,³ has rightly been observed as not only *jus naturale*, "written in the hearts"⁴ of men, but also is the superior word of God, *jus divinum*. Heraclitos had already proclaimed that, "all human laws are fed by the one, that of the divine (law)."⁵ According to the Apostle Paul, the law is revealed and "ful-filled" (Mt 5.17). The law is "holy" and the commandment is "holy and just and good" (Rom 7.12).

Let us bring to mind a beautiful expression by Thomas Aquinas, who said, "There are many things that God desires because they are just, but also they are just because God desires them." In this way, human law, by its origin, is imperfect and must be understood in its relation to the "external law" as stated by Justinian.⁶ Divine law emanates from God as an expression of the absolute justice⁷ and aims towards His will as "the good and acceptable and perfect" (Rom 12.2).

Furthermore, it would not be an exaggeration if we were to say that the precise characterization of the relation is as defined by Saint Paul, who states that "the end of the law of Christ is justice (righteousness)" (Rom 10.4). Therefore, as given, the object of theology is God, and its obvious relation to the science of law, which has as its object a close connection with God.

In addition, the concept of the law includes a moral meaning and signifies a corresponding form of justice and ethics.⁸ Law and ethics are concepts closely related. Correctly stated, "the moral values give

²K. Vavouskos, *Ἐγχειρίδιον ἀστικού δικαίου* (Thessalonike, 1971), p. 3. See also C. Triantafyllopoulos, "Δίκαιον" in *Μεγάλη Ἑγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 2nd edition, 9, p. 349.

³See F. Regelsberger-S. Miradakes, *Γενικαὶ ἀρχαὶ τοῦ δικαίου τῶν Πανδεκτῶν*, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1935), 1, p. 93f.

⁴Rom 2.15. Also, Rom 7.23 as "the law of the mind." Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1319 b 40: "Placed such laws as those that are rewritten and those that are written." See also J. Triantafyllopoulos, *Ἀρχαῖα Ἑλληνικὰ δίκαια* (Athens, 1968), pp. 20f. and 31f.

⁵C. Tsatsos, *Εἰσαγωγή στὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ δικαίου* (Athens, 1945), 1, p. 73.

⁶Novel 98f.

⁷R. Stammler, *Ἐγχειρίδιον φιλοσοφίας τοῦ δικαίου*, trans. D. Kosmopoulos (Athens, 1964), p. 144.

⁸Ch. Phrangistas, "Διάκρισις δικαίου καὶ ἠθικῆς," *Στάχυς* (Vienna, 1965), 1-2, p. 59.

the course of the law in its entirety as in the public and private, as well as in the familial and property law.”⁹ The foundation of the philosophy of law without the moral “principles” remains unattainable, both methodologically and ontologically.¹⁰ The saying of the prominent Roman law teacher, Papinianus (142-212 A.D.), is characteristic. He said: “Those things that harm piety of our reputation or the shamefulness, and simply those that are about good manners, we cannot have any faith in their action.”¹¹ In this way, we are able to speak not only concerning the moral foundation of law, but also concerning the continuous and consequent presence of morality within the law.¹² This was greatly supported by Christianity¹³ and influenced the Roman law as the following prominent representatives of the legal science testify (such as Troplong, Grandenwitz, Holenhole and others) on Byzantine law which for us Greeks is of greater immediate interest. Byzantine law was cultivated by Christianity and imbued with the spirit of social justice, public morality and humanism.¹⁴ Even though, according to the Christian perspective, love constitutes the “fullness of law” (Rom 13.10) and the “decisive criteria for all hermeneutic elaboration on the law,”¹⁵ is this inner connection,¹⁶ as clearly indicated above, it is not easy to mistake the essential partnership of theology and law.

It is necessary to add something else here. Aristotle refers to the regulations that order the life of the people, in spite of the fact that they regard external behavior, as justice, as “social virtue,” and as “virtue towards others.”¹⁷ As moral rules, these virtues affect the inner person in relation to himself and, indirectly, in relation to those of the same species.¹⁸ This has a special interest for theology and its preoccupation for man as the “image of God,” as well as its concern for the

⁹F. Regelsberger-S. Miradakes, *Γενικαὶ ἀρχαὶ τοῦ δικαίου τῶν Πανδεκτῶν*, p. 86. C. Vavouskos, *Ἐγχειρίδιον*, p. 4.

¹⁰C. Despotopoulos, *Φιλοσοφία τοῦ δικαίου* (Athens, 1953), 1, p. 9.

¹¹*Βασιλικά* 35, 12, 15.

¹²See also Despotopoulos, *Φιλοσοφία*, p. 14.

¹³P. Trembelas, *Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία τῆς θεολογίας* (Athens, 1964), p. 176.

¹⁴S. Kostara, *Τὸ ἠθικὸν στοιχεῖον ἐν τῇ συμβάσει τῆς ἐν ζωῇ δωρεᾶς* (Athens, 1957), p. 75-76. See also E. Theodorou, “Δίκαιον” in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 4, pp. 1210-14.

¹⁵P. Zepos, “Ἡ Χριστιανικὴ ἐπίδρασις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τοῦ δικαίου” *Proceedings of the First Conference of Greek Christian Culture* (Athens, 1956), p. 132.

¹⁶Specifically on the relations of Greek Ecclesiastical Law and Christian Ethics. See Vavouskas, *Ἐγχειρίδιον*, pp. 12-14.

¹⁷Aristotle, *Ἠθικὰ Νικομάχεια* 5: 4, 1130a 12/13,

¹⁸C. Triantafyllopoulos, *Ἀρχαῖα Ἑλληνικὰ δίκαια*. See also Ch. Phrangistas, *Διάκρισις δικαίου καὶ ἠθικῆς*, p. 62.

"inner man" whose aim it is to form the person in Christ. For this reason, both theology and legal science move on a common anthropological basis, even though the ecclesiastical rule and the legal rule prescribe the circumferential frame of the individuality of the human person and balances it with the spiritual dimension. There is the clear distinction that, primarily, law is defined for theology by the revelation of Christ. For legal science, the transcendent conscience, which is beyond time and place, is expressed in legislative acts in time and space. This is the relation of the primary regulation of legal science to the content of the revelation in Christ which designates each moment, and the degree of relationship of legal science to theology.

Parallel to all these and in the practical ecclesiastical life, one sees the relation of theology to the science of law. Theology—and here we mean Orthodox theology—is not an abstract theory about God. Beyond the theoretical aspect, theology bears the ecclesiastical character and constitutes the liturgy of the Orthodox Church,¹⁹ which is inseparably connected with it, as the "body of Christ" (Col 1.24) and ministers to it in all places. This is the hermeneutics of the early centuries of Christianity regulating the inner life of the Church by the sacred canons. Ecclesiastical legislation is based on the foundation of dogma and theology, and has been established on the perpetual and inviolate Constitution of the Church.²⁰

In the beginning of this century the prominent Protestant jurist, Rudolph Sohn, expressed the opinion that "the Church, by nature, does not have need for canon law." This statement threatened to shake the foundation of the ecclesiastical canonical order, but this theory did not find wide support.²¹

The right and healthy view of the law consists of the successful element that is manifested in the harmonious function of the divine and human organism of the Church, and was very early adopted in the legal judgment of evaluating human actions. All acts are subject to the discerning judgment of the Church and the relation of the church canons to the legal regulations are manifested especially in the penal church law and that of the penal judgment of the Church, even though the ultimate purpose of ecclesiastical judgment is different. This, of course, does not in any way diminish the spiritual character of the Church,

¹⁹ John Karmires, "Ομιλία περί τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Θεολογίας." Reprinted from the *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Π. Θεσσαλονίκης*, 19 (Thessalonike, 1974), p. 21.

²⁰ See Barnabas D. Tsorstatos, *Οἱ Βασικοὶ θεσμοὶ διοικήσεως τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων Πατριαρχείων μετὰ ἱστορικῶν ἀνασκοπήσεων* (Athens, 1972), p. 17f.

²¹ On this topic, see K. Mouratides, *Διαφοροποίησις, ἐκκοσμίκευσις καὶ νεώτεροι ἐξελίξεις ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 1961), p. 6f.

in which no other secular organization can be paralleled. The Church's law, as a harmonizing factor, is deeply spiritual; it differs from the law of the other organizations in accordance to its origin, content and ultimate purpose.²²

After all, the members of the Church are, at the same time, members of the state. Theology cannot ignore this reality, nor overlook the definition of the position of the Church in the world as well as its relationship to society. Due to the existing relations of Church and state, theology did not only support the development of law in Byzantium, but always cooperated with the legal science which shapes on each occasion the valid ecclesiastical law that has reference to its relationship with the state. Therefore, these two principles, Church and state, by necessity are compelled to cooperate, that is, the theologizing Church and legal science both are preoccupied with justice and law, and, thus, the significant field of canon law is derived.²³ This relationship is very useful, especially to us in present circumstances.

To avoid misinterpretations and misunderstandings, it is proper to elucidate this point. That is, the work of the Church in the world is not the result of a "legal" obligation, but it is the transcendent enlightenment and the free expression of love (agape).²⁴ Nevertheless, it is not possible for the fulfillment of this obligation to become a reality, surely not unhindered and without the legal framework defining the extension, the borders and the method of each respective act. Naturally, this necessarily leads to the clear contradiction of narrow legalism. Especially in the West, where the legal spirit was dominant, it led to the false understanding of the essence of the Church.

Thus, in true evaluation of the past, it is not surprising that theological and legal education and knowledge were closely related. Saint Paul, who was the disciple of the great Jewish law teacher, Gamalail, was engrossed in the Roman legal education from his youth. Even though Saint Paul exclusively theologized, and expressed aversion to legal discussions (Tit 3.9), in his argumentation he makes use of elements related to law, and places in perspective the basic theoretical problems of the science of law.²⁵ Also, many Church Fathers correlated their studies, to a certain degree, to the function of theology and law. A good example is John Chrysostom, who was predisposed "on juridical impulse"²⁶ and displayed great legal education and often

²²Ibid., p. 4.

²³C. Vavouskos, *Ἐγχειρίδιον*, p. 54.

²⁴G. D. Daskalakes, *Εὐθύνη*, April, 1974, p. 174.

²⁵P. Zepos, *Ὁ Ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ὡς ἐργάτης τοῦ δικαίου* (Athens, 1951), p. 259f.

²⁶Socrates, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*, PG 67.665.

wisely used legal arguments in his interpretation of the Holy Scripture.²⁷ Among the Fathers, Augustine (354-430),²⁸ in his work *De Civitate Dei*, and later, the representative of scholastic theology and philosophy, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)²⁹ in his work *Summa Theologia*, distinguish themselves as significant theoreticians of law.

Nevertheless, after all this interrelation of these two sciences, theology and law, in whatever manner this may be interpreted in each circumstance, it is not possible to overlook, as was stated in the beginning, the special character each of these sciences has, as well as the purpose towards which each is directed. Each draws its content from the same source and aims toward a different object. The common object, however, is mankind (anthropos).

In the following, one sees the essential difference. The legal science sees the human person (anthropos) as an individual mainly in his horizontal dimension, aiming to preserve the harmony of the human society. Theology also views the human person (anthropos) as an individual, with the highest value, and also in his horizontal dimension, but above all, sees the human person in his vertical dimension. In concentrating the universal dimensions of human nature, theology sides with the humanistic sciences, in which the humanistic science of law ranks high. Law, however, rejects exclusive spiritual means beyond the welfare of human society, such as the precise redemption of the human person (anthropos), that is, the attainment of theosis (deification).

All of the above were stated in a summarized form, giving occasion to further study in a full and wider manner than that which concerns the universal relation of theology to the science of law.

And now, at the end of my address, I wish to direct my remarks to the beloved students of theology and law. I will not add anything more to all the useful things that they hear and learn from their wise professors. I will confine myself, on the basis of those things of which I spoke, to simply underlining the fundamental convictions and exhortation offered in love. To the servants of both sciences, the understanding must be made clear that they are being led by different roads, consciously or subconsciously, to arrive at the same center. And this center is God, from whom both theology and law draw their content. In this way, as theologians we practice, without giving legalistic character to our function, because our work is exclusively the function of divine

²⁷ Emm. Vouzikas, *Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπινος νόμος* (Athens, 1970), p. 1416.

²⁸ F. Cayre, *Initiation à la philosophie de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1974); Ioannes Theodorakopoulos, *Φιλοσοφικά καὶ Χριστιανικά μελετήματα* (Athens, 1973), pp. 95-187.

²⁹ G. True, *La pensée de Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Athens, 1924); Cf. K. Despotopoulos, *Φιλοσοφία*, p. 3.

grace (cf. Rom 6.14). Let us not reject and underestimate the usefulness of the specific circumstances of guidance by legal thinking and education. Let the lawyers also, in their formulations of the legal regulations and implementation of laws, not view theology as useless, but in the broad understanding of the term theology come closer to the source of law and the absolute expression of justice, that is, to God. In this, you will be the beneficiaries of that right so as to enable you to complete the generous work of education of a safe foundation, and to become not only servants of the science of law, but especially servants of virtue.³⁰ Under such presuppositions, you will avoid superficiality, and offer true and permanent contributions to the individual and social progress.

³⁰Emm. Vouzikas, *Ἐγχειρίδιον*, p. 1411.

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